Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-056
Monday
23 March 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-056 *23 March 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Democratic Party Ends Campaign With Tirana Rally *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Opposition Spokesman Optimistic About Elections *[Vienna TV]* 2
Electoral Officials, Observers Hold Briefings *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Electoral Commission Gives News Conference *[ATA]* 3
Interim Election Results in Various Districts *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Electoral Commission Reports Turnout Results *[Tirana Radio]* 4
PD's Berisha Claims Clear Election Victory *[AFP]* 5
Tirana 'Rejoicing' Over Victory of Democrats *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Partial Results Put PD Vote at 72 Percent *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Democratic Party Consolidating Election Gains *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Theft of Phone Lines Halts Mirdite Communications *[Tirana Radio]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel on Threat to Democracy, CPCZ Nomenklatura *[Prague TV]* 7
Havel Urges Greater Consensus Between Parties *[Prague Radio]* 7
Dienstbier Discusses Aid, New Airport With Baker *[Prague TV]* 7
Calfa on Political Scene, Coming Campaign *[Prague TV]* 8
Klaus Comments on Planned Privatization Projects *[CSTK]* 9
Ministry Official Welcomes EC's Bos Mediation *[Budapest Radio]* 9
Meciar State Security Contacts Disclosed *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 12 Mar]* 9
Journalist Released From Prison on Bail *[Prague Radio]* 10
Criminal Proceedings Continue *[Prague Radio]* 10

POLAND

Walesa Comments on Sejm Solutions, Trade Unions *[Warsaw Radio]* 11
Olszewski: Lack of Money To Support Agriculture *[PAP]* 11
Sejm Debates Proposed Constitution 20 Mar *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 20 Mar]* 11
Sejm Rejects Report on Housing Construction *[PAP]* 12
Senate Approves Amendments to Budget Law *[PAP]* 12
Government Not to Abandon Privatization *[PAP]* 12
UD, PSL Leaders Discuss Economic Program *[PAP]* 13
Solidarity-80 Warns Against Coalition Expansion *[PAP]* 13
National Bank Spokesman on Zloty Redenomination *[PAP]* 13
Opinion Poll Conducted on Politics, Economy *[PAP]* 13
Parys on Appointment of Dual Nationality Deputy *[PAP]* 14
Olszewski Assesses Results of France Visit *[Warsaw TV]* 14
Visiting Delegation Discusses Poles in Lithuania *[PAP]* 15
Official Contends Lithuanian Relations 'Cooling' *[Warsaw Radio]* 16
Ministry Official on Relations With Russia, East *[PAP]* 16
Representative to North Atlantic Assembly Named *[PAP]* 16
Article Views Trilateral Cross-Border Program *[TRYBUNA SLASKA 26 Feb]* 16

ROMANIA

Iliescu, Moldava's Snegur Hold News Conference *[Bucharest Radio]* 18
Manolescu Discusses PAC Election Prospects *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 11 Mar]* 20

Verdet Interviewed on PSM Election Prospects *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 13 Mar]* 22
Miners Union Confederation Holds Conference *[ROMPRES]* 23

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Milosevic Greece-Macedonia Mediator Role Denied *[Zagreb Radio]* 24
UNPROFOR General on Role of Blue Berets *[TANJUG]* 24
Army, Croatia Agree on POW Exhange *[TANJUG]* 24

Federal

Kostic Expects U.S. To Recognize United State *[TANJUG]* 24
UN Encouragement To Settle Crisis Assessed *[TANJUG]* 25
Assembly Confirms SFRY Law in Force in Krajina *[TANJUG]* 25
New Commander of Banja Luka Corps Appointed *[TANJUG]* 25
Army Members 'Seem To Favor' Civilian Leader *[TANJUG]* 25
National Bank Imposes Controls on Macedonia Bank *[TANJUG]* 26

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Gorazde Council Declares State of Emergency *[TANJUG]* 26
Barricade Erected; Gunfire Reported *[TANJUG]* 26
Serbs Said To Take Over TV Transmitter *[TANJUG]* 26
Neum 'Defense Forces' Under Artillery Fire *[Zagreb Radio]* 26
Appeal Sent to Bosnia Government *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
Croats, Muslims Flee to Stolac *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
Army Claims 'All-Out' Croatian Attack *[TANJUG]* 27
Agreement Between Factions in Bosanski Brod *[Zagreb Radio]* 28
Interior Minister Accused of Illegal Arms Purchase *[TANJUG]* 28
Disarming Paramilitary Groups 'Not Yet in Sight' *[TANJUG]* 28
Parties React to Future Sarajevo Agreement *[TANJUG]* 29
Karadzic: 'Good Basis' for Talks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Muslim Leader on Izetbegovic's 'Historic Mistake' *[DANAS 3 Mar]* 30
General Aksentijevic on Army's Role in Bosnia *[MLADINA 18 Feb]* 33

Croatia

Tudjman Orders 20,000 Reservists Demobilized *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Tudjman Launches Initiative on Amnesty for Serbs *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Separovic Outlines Reasons for Far East Tour *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Croatia SDA 'Saddened' by Paraga Bosnia Stand *[TANJUG]* 36
Deputy Premier Explains Budget Expenditures *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Krajina Solons Criticize Communal Assemblies Law *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Krajina Assembly Adopts Administration Laws *[Belgrade TV]* 37
Krajina To Open Customs Points Along 'Borders' *[TANJUG]* 37
Paraga Letter to Tudjman on 'Transfer of Power' *[VJESNIK 9 Mar]* 38
Croatian Team Reported Threatened at EC Session *[VJESNIK 9 Mar]* 38

Montenegro

Inter-Republican Teams To Assume Federal Duties *[TANJUG]* 40

Serbia

Republic Asks EC To Lift Economic Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 40
Milosevic Interviewed on Royal Family, Seselj *[TANJUG]* 40
Views FRG Ties, Nuclear, Economic Policy *[TANJUG]* 41
Defense Minister Advocates Political Solution *[Belgrade Radio]* 41
Official on Economic Ties With Slovenia, Croatia *[TANJUG]* 42

New Import-Export Hard Currency Rules Imposed *[TANJUG]* 42
Government Proposes 'Major Changes' in Tax Laws *[TANJUG]* 42
Vojvodina Croats Call for EC Protection *[Zagreb Radio]* 43
Kosovo Republic President Warns of Civil War *[Belgrade Radio]* 43
Urges Secession From Serbia, SFRY *[TANJUG]* 43
Kosovo Endorses Assembly Election Proposal *[TANJUG]* 44
Serbian Committee Urges Albanians To Cooperate *[TANJUG]* 44
Alleged Serbian Attacks on Kosovo Leaders Planned *[VJESNIK 7 Mar]* 44

Romania

The Central Electoral Commission announced the first official preliminary results of the general elections held of 22 March. They show the Democratic Party winning the majority in 35 constituencies, Tirana radio reports. The vote was distributed as follows: Democratic Party, 72.26 percent; Union for Human Rights, 0.49 percent; Agrarian Party, 0.44 percent; Christain Democratic Party, 0.31 percent; Communist Party, 0.19 percent; and the Ecology Party, 0.04 percent. Sali Berisha, leader of the Democratic Party, has claimed the highest percentage of votes—97.3 percent.

Yugoslavia

Federal—In an interview with Novi Sad's DNEVNIK, Yugoslav Presidency President Jugoslav Kostic states that "Yugoslavia's continuity will be maintained" by Serbia and Montenegro, TANJUG reports. He also points out that he expects the EC and the United States to "recognize the right of the two republics to remain in a joint state." On Krajina's status when UN peacekeeping troops are deployed, Kostic reaffirms that it "will remain a part of Yugoslavia" as long as the UN presence in maintained. TANJUG also reports that the Yugoslav Assembly Federal Chamber adopted a law providing for the SFRY Constitution and laws "to be in force" in Krajina while it is under UN protection.

Bosnia-Hercegovina—The National Defense Council of Gorazde Municipal Assembly proclaimed a "state of emergency" on 21 March, TANJUG reports, "after Serbs dissatisfied with... gasoline rationing erected barricades..." "Fierce fire" was reported near Gorazde and "snipers have appeared" on buildings. A "special unit" of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and a Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) unit are reported "on their way to Gorazde to assist the local police force, which obviously no longer controls the situation."

The situation in Neum is reported "extremely tense" following artillery attacks on the Neum defense forces, according to Zagreb radio. An appeal was sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government following a "real war clash," Sarajevo radio reports. The JNA claims that Croatian forces have launched an "all-out attack" from Neum on JNA positions in neighboring Ljubinje, TANJUG reports.

TANJUG reports that "a long-awaited disarming of paramilitary (irregular) formations" in Bosnia-Hercegovina "is not yet in sight." "Tensions among Muslims, Serbs, and Croats have reached a worring level..." "A language of arms is still being spoken" in the republic despite negotiations among the three major parties: The Democratic Action Party (Muslims); the Serbian Democratic Party (Serbs); and the Croatian Democratic Union Party (Croats). At the end of 1991 the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and the JNA reached an agreement in principle to disarm paramilitary formations. "The question" is "being posed" whether the Bosnian Government has the "political authority" to disarm "their own people" given that the recent Sarajevo agreement envisages a state composed of three regions based on "national principles" which "means that the growing power of the local authorities" will increase relative to the "central republican authorities."

Croatia—President Franjo Tudjman, as supreme commander of the Croatian Army, ordered the "demobilization" of 20,000 reservists. "Croatian conscripts which remain mobilized" are needed to "revive the Croatian economy," Zagreb radio reports. Tudjman also presented an "initiative for granting amnesty to Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality who have been forcefully mobilized for aggression against Croatia" but did not participate "in the crimes." According to Zagreb radio, the Croatian Assembly is expected to make a decision on the president's amnesty proposal.

Democratic Party Ends Campaign With Tirana Rally

AU2003221892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Sokol Terihati report]

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD] held a rally to close its electoral campaign in Tirana's Skanderbeg Square today at 1500 GMT. PD leaders and founders Sali Berisha, Gramoz Pashko, Azem Hajdari, Arben Imami, Eduard Selami, Ylli Vejsiu, and others participated. Berisha speak to an exceptionally enthusiastic crowd of about 100,000 people from Tirana and other areas, including people who drove from Kavaje, Shkoder, Korce, Elbasan, etc. He said that the PD appears before you today in confidence that your democratic dreams will come true. The message of all Albanians today is: Democracy and peace, peace and democracy. This is due to the efforts of you democrats of Tirana, thanks to your efforts and those of all Albanian democrats. You are liberating Albania from the communist occupation. The PD guarantees you genuine human freedom, a free society, an end once and for all to class struggle, social tranquillity, and brotherhood among Albanians. I would like to address in your name all those Albanians who have not yet decided whom to vote for, to unite with democracy. They are not communists, they are Albanians. They are us, and we are them in the fight to liberate ourselves. That is why they must vote for democratic Albania.

I want to thank those distinguished sons of this nation, who with their great advice saved the Albanian people from the communist dogmas. We honor all those sons and daughters that lie in the altar of freedom and democracy, who laid down their lives for a democratic Albania. May they be honored forever, all those who fought for these happy days. From this rally, we guarantee our brothers living in their territories in the former Yugoslavia and wherever they are that the PD will not stop fighting until her great dream of uniting the Albanian nation comes true. I also want to guarantee here before you all that we will honor and respect those who do not vote for us in the 22 March elections. They are our brothers.

We are confident that 23 March will be the end of the Albanian communist night and the first day of the beginning of democracy. Albania will begin making its way toward Europe, its economic, political, and military integration with the old continent of Europe to which it will belong on 23 March. We will be more united than ever on this day around Skanderbeg's flag, around the high ideals of democracy. The rally then continued with the national anthem of the Republic of Albania. The participants then calmly dispersed.

Opposition Spokesman Optimistic About Elections

AU2103163092 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Interview with Democratic Party spokesman Genc Pollo by correspondent Otto Hoermann in Tirana; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Hoermann] Albania has become more oriental. After the end of officially imposed atheism, believers are flocking to the newly opened mosque in central Tirana today to attend Friday prayers. Curious people are also there. Things that used to take place secretly are now happening openly.

Albania has also become more democratic. The Democratic Party, the most important opposition party, is the number one hope against the former communists.

[Pollo] Last year the same optimism prevailed, but we lost the elections. This year many things have changed, particularly in the countryside. The control structures of the communist regime have collapsed as a result of the dissolution of the agricultural cooperatives. The peasants now know more about the significance of the opposition and are no longer influenced so directly by the communist propaganda. One notices that in the countryside.

[Hoermann] You must restore order and take control of the situation. How will you achieve that? Will you not have to take tough measures, at least at the beginning?

[Pollo] Yes, if this is necessary. I believe, however, that the lack of a government is an important reason for the insecurity that prevails.

[Hoermann] The Democratic Party held its last rally today in Skanderbeg Square in Tirana. It succeeded in mobilizing large masses of people. They expect a great deal of the chairman of the party, Sali Berisha. Instead of hired applauders, the Democratic Party has won the hearts of many people.

Electoral Officials, Observers Hold Briefings

AU2103183692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Zamira Koleci report]

[Text] Representatives of the Council of Europe delegation who have recently come to monitor tomorrow's elections held a news conference today at the news center near the Central Electoral Commission. John Stocks said that his delegation has held talks with the president, prime minister, and political parties and visited several polling stations. The Council of Europe accepted Albania as a special guest at the European parliament, but acceptance as a full-fledged member will depend on the conduct of the elections.

Reporters asked about voting procedures, voters' identity cards, the possibility of avoiding manipulations and irregularities, the way foreign observers will be distributed in all constituencies, the possibility of a quick and precise report by the observers on the election results, and whether the Omonia parliamentary candidates will participate.

Stock and delegation members Kulumberg, Gustavsov, and Propest responded to the questions based on their observations and meetings so far. They said that the electoral campaign had been conducted normally and that the observers had not been informed of any violations. They said that identity cards are necessary, which was confirmed by the Albanian authorities. They said that Omonia will participate in the elections through the Union for Human Rights, which has presented 29 parliamentary candidates. They concluded by stating that a special team of observers will be present in the constituencies of South Albania.

Another news conference was held today at the news center by the Central Electoral Commission. Commission Chairman Niko Nosi, Deputy Chairman Urim Bujari, and commission member Alfred Frasheri discussed the campaign, preparations for the elections, and the problems encountered and solved so far. They explained that the first results from the polling centers will be monitored by computers, with reports issued at two-hour intervals.

The commission members explained that the minimum number of deputies elected will be 140, according to the Electoral Law. This number may be increased to 200 after the runoff elections. The formula for this is defined by law.

Questions were raised about the composition of the Central Electoral Commission, because some parties were deprived of the right to participate in the proportional system.

Reporters also asked about the foreign observers, of which others are due to arrive today. Parliamentary members from about 14 countries have arrived, not counting those observers invited by the political parties.

As for the total number of voters, Central Electoral Commission representatives explained that the figure of about 2 million electors is incorrect, as it remains to be seen how many Albanians living abroad will come back to vote.

Electoral Commission Gives News Conference

AU2203161492 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—The Central Commission of the March 22 elections for deputies in the People's Assembly gave a press conference in the Press Centre of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana, on March 21. The chairman of the Central Elections Commission, Candidate of Sciences Nikolla Nosi, spoke to the journalists on the preparatory work carried out for the realization of the free and democratic elections.

The member of this commission, Prof. Dr. Alfred Frasheri presented the list of the candidates for deputies. 11 political parties have put up 521 candidatures, besides five independent candidates. The majority of the candidates running for deputies are about 44 years old, one is 22 and two candidates 71 years old. Predominant is the age from 34-49. As for the professions the greatest number is made up of teachers, engineers, doctors, agronomists, economists, scientific working people, zooveterinarians, employees, jurists, students and workers. Out of them 5 are women. 14 candidates are journalists and 12 scientists.

Then the commission members responded to the numerous questions of the journalists concerning various problems of the elections, commissions, election procedures, voting, documentation, etc.

Mr. Nikolla Nosi said further on that from a quick and preliminary estimation we might say that the majority of the candidates for the coming legislature are new, and this proves to the fact that the political parties have worked to prepare new politicians. With regard to the composition of the Central Elections Commission, he said that the composition of this commission is appointed by decree of the president, on the proposals of the political parties. Another question was why were some candidatures of the Human Rights Defence Party stricken off the list, to which Mr. Nosi gave the following explanation: The documents were controlled equally for all the parties and some candidatures were irregular since the moment of delivery. The law foresees that in such cases the documents be repeated within two days. The last day for this was March 4. After they were given back the documents were controlled again by the zone commissions. After March 7, the documents were handed to the Central Elections Commission, which exerted control on these documents. Some of them resulted with defects. Therefore, the Central Commission stroke those candidates off because their documents were not conform the law.

Likewise, he explained that while last year the figure of the enrolled electors was 1,800,000, this year this figure has mounted to 2,000,000 and he substantiated this increase with the growth of the electors' age and the enrollment of the emigrants by their families. To the question how many foreign observers have come till now, he responded that over 150 observers from various international organisms have arrived, invited by the Central Elections Commission, the political parties and this figure continues to mount.

To the question that what scheme will be followed for defining the seats in the parliament, the vice chairman of this commission, Candidate of Sciences Urim Bujari responded that according to the Law of Elections, the

minimal number seats in parliament will be 140. But after the second voting, this figure might increase, but it will not exceed 200.

Interim Election Results in Various Districts

AU2203160392

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 22 March devotes 18 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to correspondents' reports on the progress of voting in the People's Assembly elections.

Reporting live from the offices of the Central Electoral Commission, Zamira Koleci states: "According to the Central Electoral Commission's data so far, the districts that have reported on all their constituencies are Tropoje, with its single constituency; Puke, with two constituencies; Kukes, with three; Elbasan, with seven; Gramsh, with one; Pogradec, with two; Kolonje, with one; Tepelene, with two; and Permet, with one. We meanwhile point out that no calculations are possible for the districts of Tirana, Diber, Mat, Librazhd, Berat, and Skrapar, because they have not reported the number of voters on their electoral rolls. Thus, they have also failed to enforce the Electoral Law, which states that the number of voters must be reported the day before the elections. Other districts such as Shkoder, Fier, Korce, Lezhe, Lushnje, Mirdite, Sarande, and Vlore have not submitted data about all their constituencies. In other words, there are reports from some constituencies, but the lack of information from others means that accurate conclusions at district level cannot be drawn."

Telephone reports from local correspondents follow. A Kolonje correspondent states that the elections are proceeding "normally, in a quite atmosphere, and without problems." By 1130 GMT, 65 percent of the electorate had voted, and voting had already concluded with 100 percent turnouts in some villages.

A Gjirokaster correspondent states that people are "respecting the formalities at the tables in front of the electoral commissions with admirable correctness and seriousness and are entering the private booths to vote according to their personal convictions." "More than 40 percent" had voted by 1200 GMT. The correspondent also states "In many constituencies, especially in Dropull, electoral commissions have been faced with a shortage of ballot papers. Citizens who had emigrated returned home late last night. The district Democratic Party branch has issued a statement about this, protesting irregularities at the polling station of the village of Dervican. According to the protest, voters were registered after the deadline defined by law."

Ilir Spiro, reporting from Pogradec, states: "Information so far shows that almost 68 percent of the electorate has voted in Constituency No. 63, which includes the town of Pogradec and its surrounding villages, while more than 80 percent have voted in Constituency No. 64, which includes Mokra e Poshtme, Mokra e Siperme, and part of Gore."

Rrok Lencaj, reporting from Puke, states that the conduct of the elections has been "technically perfect," and that people have been waiting to vote "in a calm and cultured way." More than 70 percent of the electorate had voted by 1200 GMT. The lack of telephone communication with 30 villages has meant that contact has had to be maintained with the District Electoral Commission by courier.

Sulejman Haxhihasani, reporting from Elbasan, states that voting is continuing "normally" in the district's seven constituencies, which reported 40-50 percent turnouts by 1200 GMT.

Ilir Bucpapaj, reporting from Tropoje, states that the absence of certain members of voters' families from the electoral rolls "has led to disagreements between the commissions and the electors." More than 50 percent of the electorate had voted by 1330 GMT.

Xhelal Marku, reporting from Mirdite, states that "the elections are being held normally, in total order, and according to the law." 75 percent of the electorate had voted by 1300 GMT. "One worrying problem is the lack of telephone communication with the polling stations. We have so far secured telephone links with 70 percent of the polling stations, and we receive information from the others by courier, but after a delay."

Peshkopi correspondent Defrim Methasani states that in the two constituencies of Diber District 70 percent and 80 percent of the electorate have voted so far.

The announcer that states: "We have just learned that 60 families were not registered on the electoral rolls of Polling Stations No. 20 and 22 in Constituency No. 82 in Tirana. We have also learned that 70 percent of voters have so far voted in Constituency No. 54 in Lushnje District."

Electoral Commission Reports Turnout Results

AU2203193292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Zamira Koleci report from the Palace of Congresses in Tirana]

[Text] We have here Miriam Bedi, member of the Central Electoral Commission, who has received the latest information:

[Bedi] According to the telephone reports we have received, the following turnouts have been recorded in each district: In Berat, 70.51 percent of the electorate has voted so far; In Diber, 81.29 percent; in Durres, 75.82 percent; in Elbasan, 52.85 percent; in Fier, 45.76 percent. These are low, and we must say that Constituency No. 27 in Fier has sent no information. In Gramsh, 81.7 percent; in Gjirokaster 39.7 percent; in Kavaje, 82.73

percent; in Kolonje, 89.97 percent; in Korce, 74.88 percent; in Kruje, 84.44 percent; in Kukes, 84.84 percent; in Lezhe, 50.49 percent. We emphasize that Constituency No. 51 in Lezhe has sent no report. In Librazhd, 65.41 percent; in Lushnje, 50.13 percent; in Mat 69.73 percent; in Mirdite, 79.04 percent; in Permet, 77.55 percent; in Pogradec, 90.91 percent; in Puke, 82.34 percent; in Sarande, 59.10 percent; in Skrapar, 83.2 percent; in Shkoder, 61.99 percent. We stress that Constituencies Nos. 72 and 79 in Shkoder have sent no data. In Tepelene, 71.97 percent. The most acute problems are in Tirana, were several constituencies have sent no details. We can only provide details of a few Tirana constituencies: In Constituency No. 88, 95.51 percent have voted; in No. 90, 76.36 percent; in Constituency No. 91, 40 percent; and in Constituency No. 92, 64.56 percent. In Tropoje, the figure is 20 percent; and in Vlore, 45.28 percent. Vlore is also a problem, because four constituencies have sent no information.

We stress that this is the information we had at 1830 GMT. Full details have not arrived, because polling stations will remain open after 1800 if voters are still waiting to cast their ballots.

PD's Berisha Claims Clear Election Victory

AU2303080892 Paris AFP in English 0323 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 23 (AFP)—Forty-six years of communist government in Albania ended in Sunday's [22 March] elections with the sweeping victory of the Democratic Party, its leader Sali Berisha said early Monday [23 March]. "Albania said goodbye to communism," he told journalists at the headquarters of his party.

Diplomats had predicted that the opposition parties would obtain about 55 percent of the vote, but Berisha, a cardiologist, said his party single-handedly won between 60 and 65 percent of the seats in the parliament. If confirmed, the results will also mean goodbye to President Ramiz Alia, the last of the communist dictators of Eastern Europe. There was no confirmation from the electoral commission, which has released no results.

The deputy president of the Socialist Party, which was the Communist Party until last June, refused to concede defeat and denounced "manipulations, pressures and irregular practices" by the opposition. The Democratic Party victory in the cities had been expected, but it also won handsomely in the countryside, where 65 percent of the 3.2 million Albanians live. It was popularity in the rural areas that ensured the communist victory in Albania's first free elections last April.

"The villages that voted communist last year switched to our side this time," said Berisha, who said he was elected with 98 percent of the vote in his home district south of here. Party officials said turnout was 80 percent. Berisha said that despite his party's majority in the parliament, he may invite the Republican and the Social Democratic Party into the government—but not the Socialists.

The parliament, in addition to forming a new government, is expected to replace Alia, whom it elected last year to a five-year term. As the chief aide of Enver Hoxha, Alia had helped turn Albania into one of the most isolated and regimented countries in the world. When Hoxha died in 1985, Alia predictably succeeded him. In 1990, he survived a partial revolution and was forced to legalize opposition parties.

Since then, as Albania's economy collapsed into chaos and thousands fled—or tried to flee—abroad, he has voiced support for a free-market economy and asked the International Monetary Fund to help draw up a plan for reforming Europe's most backward economy.

Tirana 'Rejoicing' Over Victory of Democrats

AU2303100792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 0900 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana awoke in a festive mood today. Thousands of inhabitants were out in the streets, greeting and embracing each other, rejoicing over yesterday's sweeping victory of the Democratic Party and of democracy in Albania.

Lines of cars holding banners and streamers were in the streets of Tirana at about 0700 GMT, accompanied by the enthusiasm of hundreds of inhabitants standing on both sides of the streets. Thousands also gathered in front of the Democratic Party headquarters waiting to receive the official results of the elections and to greet the party leaders who made a valuable contribution in the final victory of democracy.

Meanwhile the police are carefully working to maintain order and avoid any unnecessary incidents. Reports say that nothing troublesome has happened so far and we hope the situation will continue so.

We had a telephone report from the Central Electoral Commission at the Palace of Congresses a few minutes ago informing us that there is nothing new concerning the elections' results so far. We will get in touch later to get the latest reports.

Partial Results Put PD Vote at 72 Percent

AU2303124492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1006 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Zamira Koleci report from the Palace of Congresses in Tirana]

[Text] With 35 constituencies accounted for, the percentage of votes is as follows:

The Agrarian Party 0.44 percent; the Union for Human Rights 0.49 percent; the Democratic Party 72.26 percent; the Christian Democratic Party 0.31 percent; the Ecology Party 0.04 percent; the Communist Party 0.19

percent; the Popular Alliance 0.01 percent; the Republican Party 2.49 percent; the Socialist Party 20.23 percent; the Social Democratic Party 3.05 percent; the Universal Party 0.0 percent; and independent candidates 0.50 percent.

Meanwhile the Central Electoral Commission has received information from three constituencies in Berat District: in Constituency No. 1 Agron Musaraj of the Democratic Party has won 11,650 votes; in Constituency No. 2 Fatos Nano of the Socialist Party 12,462 votes; and in Constituency No. 3 Abdi Baleta of the Democratic Party 12,051 votes. We reported the number of electors for Berat District not to lose time until the percentages are calculated.

Another report from Kavaje states that the Democratic Party deputies Luan Skuqi and Sali Berisha have won respectively 79.3 percent and 97.5 percent. The reports received so far show that the deputy Sali Berisha has won the highest percentage of votes.

Democratic Party Consolidating Election Gains

AU2303133192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Zamira Koleci report from the Palace of Congresses in Tirana]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission is still receiving information about the election results. It is well-known now that the Democratic Party has won the majority in 35 constituencies so far, the percentage has reached 72.26 percent. We have just received a report from Lezhe that both of the Democratic Party's deputies have won; Rudolf Marku 73.07 percent and Tonin Alimehilli 75.39 percent. In Constituency No. 21 in Elbasan District the Social Democratic Party's deputy Skender Gjinushi has won with 82.00 percent of the votes.

The chairmen of the three parties [the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party] have won respectively: Professor Dr. Sali Berisha 97.3 percent; Professor Dr. Skender Gjinushi 82.0 percent; and Fatos Nano 59.60 percent.

With the victory of the Democratic Party in Lezhe District, the figure 72.26 percent is expected to increase. These reports are fed in the computer, dear listeners, to be processed, so we do not know the exact increase in percentage.

Theft of Phone Lines Halts Mirdite Communications

AU1803201592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Xhelal Marku report]

[Text] The Mirdite telephone network has often been damaged by unidentified persons in the last few months, preventing communication both within the district and with other districts of the country. Mr. Bardhok Prenga, the manager of the Rreshen Telephone Exchange who is responsible for the lines, told us that the damage attributable to theft has reached the figure of 460,000 leks. A total of 114 kilometers of telephone lines and 478 telephone poles have been stolen, taken by individuals in order to fence private fields or for use as building materials. The post offices of five villages in the district have also been damaged.

The Post Office Directorate in Rreshen told us that the police have been informed of all this damage, but no arrests have been made even when the culprits have been identified. The damage is continuing. As a result, there has been no telephone communication between Rreshen and Tirana for five months. Can we start the elections with telephone communication in such a condition? The mail is in a similar state, and comes to Rreshen from Tirana about every 10-15 days.

Havel on Threat to Democracy, CPCZ Nomenklatura

LD2103164992 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2140 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] The traditional meeting *13 Plus 1* organized by the editorial office of the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK in Bratislava's Cafe Danubius coffeehouse provided an opportunity for Slovak journalists to put questions to CSFR President Vaclav Havel before the end of his two-day working visit to Slovakia.

In answer to our question of how he assessed voices raised in the Czech Republic and also recently in Slovakia about the threat to democracy in Slovakia, the president had this to say:

[Begin Havel recording] I do not agree with the view which one can hear from time to time on the Czech political stage that a victory by the leftwing forces would mean the end of democracy in Slovakia. When such a thing is said I do not like it much. This is because we see in advanced and functioning democracies that sometimes a left-leaning government is in power and sometimes a right-leaning one but nonetheless the state functions. It is absurd to say that if someone other than myself wins this would be a threat to democracy. I do not agree with such a sharply formulated view.

On the other hand I have to say that as I travel around in Slovakia I encounter a certain feeling that a threat to democracy exists. When meeting ordinary people on various occasions voices are frequently raised from which I detect fear, the feeling of a threat, of concern that a more authoritative regime may gain power. Such a feeling of threat or danger does not seem to be so strong among the public in the Czech lands, although it does also appear there. There are people who fear the victory of the left and there are people who fear the victory of the right, too. [end recording]

Apart from the traditional questions in connection with the future constitutional set up of the CSFR, what interested us was the president's views on the political and moral responsibility of the former CPCZ nomenclature:

[Begin Havel recording] I have to confess that what bothers me most is not the political responsibility of people like, for instance, Gottwald or Viliam Siroky and the like. Their responsibility is in essense known and identified and historians will assess it more accurately and publish their reports. I am rather more bothered by another matter and that is the rapid move of some of these nomenclature fraternities into the economic sphere; that very curious manner in which they managed to make use of all these loopholes in laws at a time when all laws are being changed, finding gaps in individual laws and the like, and through these loopholes to acquire various property which does not belong to them, to rapidly privatize property which up to then was state or party property. I regard this as very dangerous because it can create social tension, citizens' mistrust of the democratic regime.

Arising from this phenomenon are also various suspicions that the democratic power is, in effect, in cahoots with the previous one, that they reached an agreement and the like. This is of course nonsense which nonetheless finds fertile soil in the fact that these things are really happening, that people who were in power previously are again rich. People see this around themselves and it bothers them. This is a serious matter and no has as yet proposed an effective key, and effective way preventing these things from happening in a legal and decent manner. [end recording]

Havel Urges Greater Consensus Between Parties

LD2103175592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At a meeting with journalists in Bratislava today President Vaclav Havel said that it is premature to talk about a date for accepting the candidacy to the office of president after the next elections. According to him, if he were to accept the candidacy there would have to be a greater consensus between the political parties. He stressed again that he is a supporter of a common state and expressed hope that that is also the case among the majority of Slovak citizens.

Dienstbier Discusses Aid, New Airport With Baker

LD2303125492 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Dienstbier has spoken in Washington with James Baker—and later, in more detail, with Lawrence Eagleburger—on the so-called triangular assistance to the countries of the former Soviet Union. It is now necessary for our firms to prepare specific projects together with their partners in Ukraine or Russia, Minister Jiri Dientsbier said yesterday. He also discussed with his American partners the situation in Czechoslovakia. In this connection, he talked about the projected construction of an international airport at Milovice. An American agency, Technical Development Projects, is prepared to finance a feasibility study for the airport's construction. The U.S. Government will support the study.

[Begin Dienstbier recording] We have set up a consortium of what at this stage are just enthusiasts and dreamers who think that at Milovice, the center from which Soviet power controlled our affairs, there could be, figuratively speaking, a keyhole through which capital would flow from the West and advanced democracies that would help us take part. We intend to construct a large Central European airport. Talks are taking place at the moment as to what shape it will have. It should be a center of air traffic and business. The property ownership issue is so far clear. The majority of the land belongs

to the Czechoslovak Army, which means that a decision can be made on the complete lot. That is one of its most valuable features. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Calfa on Political Scene, Coming Campaign

LD2303152692 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1850 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"—Calfa speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] I would like to turn your attention to a letter sent to you by Professor Zdenek Mlynar. It is an open letter to which he demanded an answer again last week. He writes in the letter: By claiming that I had committed high treason, the two bureaucrats from the Interior Ministry, Major Faltus and Martin Fendrych [ministry spokesman], have laid claim to the power that belongs exclusively to the court. On 13 February 1992 they gave the statement to the media and thus caused that I was publicly assaulted both in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

He demands an answer to his open letter, and you promised to give your opinion on it as soon as possible.

[Calfa] I have received the letter. I first read it in the newspapers and only then received it from Mr. Mlynar. An answer to this letter is being drafted. We will naturally reply to the letter. I will reply to it in the same manner in which I received it—that is, we will make it public and I will send it to Mr. Mlynar. In any case, we are investigating what were exactly the statements by the Federal Interior Ministry spokesman, what they were based on, whether the two officials were citing somebody else, or whether it was their own opinion. We want to deal with the case, and my answer to it will, if possible, be exhaustive. It is complex, it is a subject of public speculation, etc., and, therefore, it has taken us quite a long time to answer it, but we will send the answer next week at the latest.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, the elections are approaching. Last Thursday the government decided the dates within which the election campaign will be waged, the date by which the list of candidates will have to be submitted, and the like. Our political scene is gradually being polarized as the date of the elections is approaching. We can see this visibly in the parliament. Could you divulge to us what it is like in the government? You have in your government party chairman who do not communicate with each other a great deal outside.

[Calfa] The government is an executive body operating in its own way, and I have the feeling that it is working, and working well. The government cannot afford not to be working because matters we are tackling are important, they concern the everyday life of our citizens. Therefore, we have to work and will work until the government submits its resignation after the elections, as prescribed by and in accordance with the Constitution. Of course, the government is a body which cannot be immune to political developments that exist here. I observe a certain polarization of political forces in the government as well. I also observe that when seeking factual solutions, political views are now being presented. We are no longer in the situation that had prevailed until recently when we were all really at one in seeking factual solutions. The government is beginning to be politically polarized. I only hope that political viewpoints do not impede the factual solution of these problems, and in this respect I will endeavor to keep hold of the direction of the government and the way the government operates until the end.

[Correspondent] At times there is shouting in the parliament. Are voices sometimes raised in the government?

[Calfa] We have experienced such moments, but I would say that in comparison with parliamentary proceedings, government meetings certainly take place in a calmer climate. This is also shown by the way the government makes decisions and deals with material for which we seek solutions.

[Correspondent] This is certainly borne out by the fact that the government has survived this turbulent period without suffering serious shocks for a whole year and a half. In connection with the coming elections, how do you see the role of the press and the media in general?

[Calfa] I would like to characterize it by one phrase—absolute independence. There is a great deal of talk about dependence and independence, but I really believe that our mass media—newspapers, radio, and television—have an enormous role to play. I would very much like to see that a proper political fight is waged in the upcoming pre-election turmoil, which in my view has already begun. So far we have had to witness blows below the belt and the like. From this viewpoint I would like to see in the media independence, standards, and a picture of political culture, as we see everywhere else in the world.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you for your personal view of television and its reporting, and about this program in general?

[Calfa] Television is attacked from all sides. I do not exclude it from the process of the mass media, and what I have said about the mass media in general—that I want it to be independent—applies to television. It should not be an object of attacks because some politicians are given scope and some are not. Television should be an eye. We have proposed laws that should ensure it such a role.

I would like to provide an example. In this 10-minute interview I have a certain amount of television time. I believe that we should consider, along with television, giving up this time so that it is not understood as time for one lone representative of the Civic Democratic Union

within our political spectrum, but rather we should seek more objective possibilities for such contact.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned your party affiliation. Therefore, I have one personal question for you. This is a time of transfers; political clothing is being changed. Are you considering changing membership in the political party or movement before the elections?

[Calfa] I do not believe that changing political clothing is a general characteristic, although there have been several politicians who have taken such a step. I am in the leadership of the Civic Democratic Union, and in the coming elections I intend to stand for that party in the East Slovak region.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Klaus Comments on Planned Privatization Projects

LD2003182292 Prague CSTK in English 2013 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus today said that privatisation projects will be approved by April 11, and "the first privatisation round will start on May 18, 1992".

Klaus was speaking to reporters during a break in a meeting here of Czech and Slovak government ministers, discussing the timetable of coupon privatisation.

Klaus said steps will be taken for the value of property due to be privatised to come close to the planned 260,000 million crowns (about 8,660 million USD), 170,000 million crowns for the Czech Republic and 75,000 million for Slovakia. He added that the ratio of 2.29-1 will be used for determining the republics' share of property due to be privatised. This ratio is derived from the number of people registered for coupon privatisation in both republics. (Over half of Czechoslovakia's population of 15.5 million people have registered to become shareholders in the first privatisation round.)

Ministry Official Welcomes EC's Bos Mediation

LD2003213792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Prague has not been officially informed yet about the proposal that the European Community would be ready to contribute to the settlement of the bilateral dispute over Bos [Gabcikovo]-Nagymaros. That is why there is no stand yet from official Prague sources. This was the reply to a telephone question provided by Zdenek Zikmund, chief of the CSFR Foreign Ministry Press Department. Zikmund added that since Czechoslovakia has long been urging the most thorough examination of the matter, no doubt Czechoslovakia will not object to the foreign assistance. It may even welcome it, said the official.

Meciar State Security Contacts Disclosed

AU1803125292 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 92 p 6

[First installment of interview with Dr. Leonard Cimo, former director of the Slovak Interior Ministry Inspection Agency, by Ivo Slavik and Milan Zitny; place and date not given: "Contacts of the Nemsova Lawyer"]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] Mr. Meciar still maintains that he has never collaborated with the State Security [StB], however, others maintain that he did. Was any evidence of Meciar's possible collaboration with the StB uncovered after you and the Interior Ministry inspection team entered the StB building in Trencin, a building that belonged to the Federal Interior Ministry?

[Cimo] Yes. I spoke openly to Vladimir Chleban, Jozef Miksik, and Jozef Skultety. Ivan Hornak was also there. I also spoke to Mr. Miklik and Mr. Mano. They were all StB and Public Security Corps [VB] officers and junior officers. In their conversations with me they unequivocally claimed that Meciar collaborated very actively and very positively with both the state and criminal police forces.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Did they support their claims with any evidence?

[Cimo] They all confirmed Meciar's collaboration with the StB, but they said they would not give me any documentary evidence because they are keeping it for a rainy day. They saw it as the only guarantee that they would not be disposed of by us, by the inspection team. They were absolutely convinced that we were going to get rid of them because they had compromising documents. We (the inspection team) were literally hounded by former Slovak Interior Minister Meciar to lock them up as soon as possible because they had been involved in criminal activity. This all started when two direct complaints and approximately 20 anonymous ones were submitted to the former National Security Corps [SNB] District Administration. They included one from Simsis, former Communist Party of Slovakia district committee first secretary. Meciar kept urging: Lock them up, lock them up, lock them up. Although a major commission was set up in Trencin to investigate the complaints—a commission I established and that reported to me monthly—it did not reach the conclusions the interior minister wanted it to reach. The outcome is known. Only former SNB District Administration Commander Jan Patrnciak was taken to task for some minor matter, and Mr. Mano was dealt with for interfering with the inspection commission's activities.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Did Meciar, as interior minister, submit any hard evidence to you that would justify "locking up" these policemen?

[Cimo] He had no evidence that would warrant arresting them or taking them into custody.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What do the StB officers' testimonies regarding Meciar's collaboration with them consist of?

[Cimo] Something along the lines that Meciar was, first of all, listed as a hostile person (NO). A breakthrough was made at the beginning of the 1980's. Meciar began to collaborate. He was reclassified as a confidential collaboration candidate (KTS). This was approximately 1982 or 1983. I do not remember exactly when.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Which StB officer secured this deal?

[Cimo] I think it was Chleban. Alternatively, there was the Hornak-Chleban-Miksik combination. Miksik should have been his last controller. In 1987, when as a Slovak People's Control Committee officer I was conducting an inspection at Skloobal Nemsova, I became acquainted with Meciar, who was then the enterprise's lawyer. StB and VB officers visited him. I noticed Meciar's contacts with Chleban. These were the most frequent contacts. I can confirm this rather accurately because the inspection lasted approximately three months....

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What were the circumstances of Meciar's conversion from an NO to a KTS?

[Cimo] I think Alexander Dubcek and his family had something to do with it. That is the first thing. The second reason for this conversion was the KGB. It operated both in Nemsova and in Dubnica nad Vahom. Soviet Army and KGB officers lived in Nemsova. Meciar was in frequent contact with them, and I sometimes met them in Meciar's office or in the pub where we used to drink. In my opinion, the roots of his collaboration lie here. According to what Meciar told me, he had to have contacts with KGB and Soviet Army officers when he worked in Dubnica. He told me they helped him get into the legal faculty.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What did Meciar do as a collaborator?

[Cimo] He was supposed to report on Dubcek and his family. He was also supposed to provide information on the director and management of Skloobal Nemsova. He confirmed all the Nemsova exit visa permits at the StB. The StB also received information from him on the ZTS [Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises] Dubnica nad Vahom employees that Meciar knew. Again, this mainly involved exit permits. He was considered a supplier of information on people who wanted to emigrate. It is possible to say that he worked for the StB sections dealing with the internal and external enemy, because he informed on all the foreign visitors received at Skloobal. He also informed the KGB of the foreign negotiations in Skloobal and in the Dubnica nad Vahom arms plant.

Journalist Released From Prison on Bail

LD2003165392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] RUDE PRAVO Chief Editor Zdenek Porybny, accused of fraud and unfair competition, left Ruzyne Prison in Prague shortly after 1530 this afternoon. He was taken directly from the prison courtyard by a private car. Journalists waiting for him did not have an opportunity to ask him questions. The decision to release him was made by Jarmila Loeffelmannova, a Prague Municipal Court judge, who accepted bail amounting to 500,000 korunas.

Criminal Proceedings Continue

LD2003165592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Criminal proceedings against Zdenek Porybny, RUDE PRAVO chief editor and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Borgis commercial company, and RUDE PRAVO Deputy Chief Editor Michal Rizak continue while they are at liberty. Today, Martin Fendrych, press spokesman for the Interior Ministry, refused to comment on reports that other people may be charged along with the RUDE PRAVO chief editor. He also refused to answer whether other dailies are being investigated in connection with the transfer of Czechoslovak Communist Party property. He referred to the ongoing investigation and to the office of the prosecutor general, which is overseeing all procedural matters involving the investigation.

Walesa Comments on Sejm Solutions, Trade Unions

LD2303085392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by unidentified correspondent in Gdansk on 22 March—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, recently you have either mentioned directly or hinted at the possibility of applying nonconstitutional solutions against the Sejm. Piotr Wierzbicki of NOWY SWIAT thinks that by doing so you are testing public opinion. Is that correct?

[Walesa] No. I regret that I must keep saying that he is not right. What I am saying is that in certain circumstances a situation can arise, for instance regarding timely approval of the budget, leading us into a dead end. There are many different solutions without damaging democracy. One of them is for the Sejm to prepare well, and in advance, solutions in smaller groups, rather then meet unprepared in such large numbers, because then the Sejm is unable to propose anything. That is why I proposed that I ask the Sejm to prepare in smaller groups and then to hold plenary sesssions later. This has nothing to do with any desire to dissolve the parliament. I still have many solutions up my sleeve that respect democracy and improve efficiency. Mr. Wierzbicki and others either refuse to understand or fail to understand that the president's job is to find the best solutions for every possibility.

[Correspondent] During her stay on the coast in the last few days Mrs. Spychalska, the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] leader, called for bypassing what she described as an idiotic law. She announced new strike tactics for her federation aimed at paralyzing enterprises of key importance to the national economy. This does not help the cause of normalizing relations with the OPZZ, as you desired earlier.

[Walesa] I think that most Poles, irrespective of their membership, are more serious. I cannot believe that madam OPZZ chairwoman has such ideas from a different era and different country—ideas that stimulate anarchy and resolve nothing. I cannot believe that Mrs. Spychalska said this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, some politicians blame the team of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, believing that they brought ruin to Poland. In some cases they describe his team as thieves. Over a year ago you caused an air assault [desant] from Gdansk to Warsaw. Was this a mistake?

[Walesa] No, it was not like that. I want to stress that during that period, so soon after the elections, and during the elections, everyone said that it was necessary to maintain the economic direction. Such an economic direction was maintained by Mr. Balcerowicz. The prime minister, at my request and that of others, did not interfere with the economic strategy worked out in the first year. Today one can say whether it was a good or a bad thing, but at the time we were all convinced this was the only direction and that Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz should have been left in place, so we left him in place. That is why this is a difficult subject. If it transpires that the public was disregarded and Polish money was wasted, then it needs to be checked. I am awaiting more precise explanationa about many matters.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] What are you expecting from your forthcoming visit to Germany?

[Walesa] I want to close the old era which created dislike. I want us to open a new era and new solutions that mention that in perspective there is only one Europe and that wise people and wise programs can be realized everywhere because freedom and pluralism make it possible. It is bad that at this time we are poorer, that we have fewer proposals, and that we are in a worse situation, but a Pole can deliver, given the right circumstances. We will quickly make up and catch up with Europe, which is running away from us.

Olszewski: Lack of Money To Support Agriculture

LD2103182892 Warsaw PAP in English 1628 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski was the guest of farmers on the second day of debates of the National Congress of Delegates of the Solidarity of Private Farmers on Saturday [21 March] at Jachranka near Warsaw. The prime minister told farmers that "the present government and its prime minister know that they must not expose Polish countryside to destruction as this is required by the reason of state." "If despite this knowledge and full awareness we do not give means on the scale that the countryside deserves, we do not offer them indeed only because there are no such means", the prime minister said.

Sejm Debates Proposed Constitution 20 Mar

AU2303142492 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Jerzy Pilczynski report: "A Recipe for a Constitution"]

[Text] The first point on the agenda of the three-day Sejm session which started on Thursday [19 March] was a debate on the presidential bill on the ways and means of preparing and adopting a new constitution.

After several hours of talks, the Sejm decided to submit the presidential draft to the Legislative Committee. Only Center Accord deputies voted for a rejection of the draft during its first reading.

Lech Falandysz, minister of state in the Presidential Chancellery, described the presidential draft. He said it is different from the deputies' draft, which has already been tabled in the Sejm. According to the presidential draft, the new constitution should be adopted not by the National Assembly, as the deputies draft says, but by the people in a referendum. The constitution distributes

power among the highest authorities in the land, and no single power can be sole judge in matters pertaining to it.

Lech Falandysz said that the new constitution is so important that work on it cannot be hurried, apart from which the presidential draft does not automatically cancel the deputies draft, and a compromise between the two is possible.

Almost every deputy said that the presidential draft deserves merit, but some critical remarks were made. Aleksander Luczak (Polish Peasant Party) said it would be premature to hold a referendum now, and a referendum would involve various dangers. In particular, resolving key constitutional issues by means of a referendum could cause confusion. Deputy Jerzy Ciemniewski said that the president's idea of a 50 percent turnout is unacceptable, and Lech Mazewski (Liberal-Democratic Congress) rejected the idea of referendums at gmina level, because Poland is not a federation of gminas. Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia (Alliance of the Democratic Left) voiced many reservations about the presidential proposals, but recommended that the Legislative Commission incorporate some of them in the future constitution. Some supports of the president's draft said that its greatest merit was that it gives the people a measure of participation in preparing and adopting the new constitution.

However, the greatest criticism was directed against those provisions in the draft which reduce the powers of the Sejm as a constitutive assembly, especially the provision which would alter the composition of the Constitutional Commission in such a way that parliamentarians would no longer form a majority in it.

The strongest criticism came from Jaroslaw Kaczynski (Center Accord), who said that the presidential draft is a figment of the imagination of some intellectuals and is quite unsuited to Polish conditions. Kaczynski said the Center Accord Parliamentary Club would vote against it.

Deputy Marek Markiewicz (Solidarity) asked whether the present Sejm is at all capable of being a constitutive assembly. If it is, then it should reject the presidential draft; if it is not, then the draft should remain as a kind of alternative.

Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski (Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Union) said that the presidential draft conceals false motives. The president is merely trying to replace the political process of adopting a constitution with a new process of bargaining between the main bodies of authority.

Despite all these accusations, the draft was submitted to the Legislative Commission for further work without undue difficulty.

Sejm Rejects Report on Housing Construction

LD2103225592 Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—The Sejm (lower house) rejected on Friday [20 March] a government report on new principles of financing and crediting housing construction and obliged the cabinet to present a new concept of financing this sector by April 30. Deputies' draft amendments to the law on crediting construction were sent to Sejm committees for further work.

Also today deputies debated on the government draft construction law aimed at making state and private sectors in construction equal, preventing lawlessness, and reckoning with the needs of disabled people in construction. After a four-hour discussion in which deputies charged the draft was unclear and its solutions too expensive it was sent to appropriate committees.

Sejm Committees will also work further on the presidential drafts of laws on orders and distinctions in which Lech Walesa proposed to restore the White Eagle Order as the highest Polish distinction and halt granting some orders and distinctions from the period of people's Poland. The next Sejm sitting is to be held from April 2 to 4 and then the chamber will discuss the budget bill which the government is supposed to submit to the parliament by March 23.

Senate Approves Amendments to Budget Law

LD2003222292 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—At its meeting on Friday [20 March] the Senate accepted with no reservations three amendments to the law on state sanitary inspection and the budget law, both passed earlier by the lower house. The amendments to the budget law say that before the regional clearing houses are established under a separate law, their duties will be performed by provincial governors.

The amended law on state sanitary inspection envisages fees for work performed by sanitary agencies while examining goods and issuing certificates on Polish and imported foodstuffs and products destined for the home market or home production.

Government Not to Abandon Privatization

LD2003235292 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—Government spokesman Marcin Gugulski on Thursday [19 March] told journalists the government does not intend to give up privatization, while Privatization Minister Tomasz Gruszecki blamed the press for creating an unpleasant atmosphere around the privatization process.

Gruszecki acknowledged that three kinds of mistakes had been made in the privatization process so far. He

deemed it incorrect that the chief body of the state administration, the Privatization Ministry, sells enterprises. He mentioned the lack of Polish experts' experience in legally and economically complex deals as the second mistake, and deemed criticism of deals after signing civil law agreements as the third one.

The minister thinks that legal and ownership relations should be brought in order as swiftly as possible. Besides, the administration and offices determining economic strategy should be separated from the owner, and this should be modelled after the German Trustee Agency.

The government set up a commission to draw a "privatization map." The goal is to select enterprises that will remain entirely state-owned (for instance, railways), will be commercialized but not privatized (for instance, state holdings in defence and power industries), will be privatized but the state will retain a control package of shares and the ones to be sold.

Asked by journalists whether he himself did not contribute to the "unpleasant" atmosphere around privatization by making statements that could have been deemed as ones questioning the already signed agreements (Thomson-Polkolor, Amina-Gerber and Pepsico-Wedel), Gruszecki admitted that he should not have mentioned names of these firms. He added that "like property rights, agreement is sacred" and he would not question the signed deals, although he noticed mistakes in some of them.

UD, PSL Leaders Discuss Economic Program

LD2103230792 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Leaders of the Democratic Union (UD) Tadeusz Mazowiecki and of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Waldemar Pawlak met for talks here Friday [20 March].

"We have reviewed our stands and exchanged views on the economic programme. We also spoke of the need for discussion on economic policy," Tadeusz Mazowiecki said after the meeting.

Solidarity-80 Warns Against Coalition Expansion

LD2003234192 Warsaw PAP in English 2244 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Katowice, March 19—Regional coordinating commission of the Silesian chapter of Solidarity-80 warned Thursday [19 March] that "the participation of corrupt parties such as the Democratic Union or neo-Liberals from the Liberal-Democratic Congress in a broadened coalition will lead to Jan Olszewski government's full assumption of responsibility of two former governments."

The Silesian chapter of Solidarity-80 expressed an opinion that "disastrous economic situation of the country results from inefficiency and lack of responsibility for the state and the nation's fate of the government's potential coalition partners".

According to the coordinating commission of the Silesian chapter of Solidarity-80, the premier's agreement to these groupings' participation in the government will be equal to drawing a veil over corruption, economic swindles and the destruction and selling out of state property during the last two years.

National Bank Spokesman on Zloty Redenomination

LD2103221992 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—The zloty re-denomination will be announced, at least, six months ahead of its introduction, press spokesman for the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Tomasz Uchman has told PAP in response to rumours in the Thursday's [19 March] KURIER POLSKI daily of the possible re-denomination and exchange of the Polish złoty.

He made assurances that re-denomination is likely to be introduced but first detailed information will be provided to educate the society about the operation.

The central bank will introduce re-denomination provided inflation drops to a one-digit figure. The spokesman reiterated that all banknotes bearing inscriptions "Polish Peoples' Republic" will be withdrawn by 1995.

Opinion Poll Conducted on Politics, Economy

LD2103221492 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Some 64 per cent of the respondents to a poll conducted by the public opinion research centre March 5-10 said that generally speaking the situation in Poland was developing in bad direction. 16 per cent held an opposite opinion and every fifth respondent did not have an opinion on this subject.

Close to 68 per cent of the respondents think that "now nobody controls developments in Poland." According to 10 per cent, on the contrary, "Poland's all important questions are handled well" and 22 per cent did not have an opinion on this topic. According to 48 per cent of the respondents, the present political situation is bad. 31 per cent of the respondents say it is "neither good nor bad," according to 7 per cent it is good and 14 per cent did not have an opinion on this topic.

About 75 per cent of the respondents deemed Poland's present economic condition bad and 18 per cent "neither good nor bad." 2 per cent of the respondents said it was good and the remaining 5 per cent did not have an opinion on this subject.

Parys on Appointment of Dual Nationality Deputy

LD2103224892 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—According to Defence Minister Jan Parys there are no obstacles provided by the Constitution or Polish laws to performing state functions by Radoslaw Sikorski, who has a dual Polish and British citizenship.

"I am convinced the activity of Mr. Sikorski as deputy defence minister will disperse such doubts," Parys said in the Sejm (lower house) on Friday [20 March] in reply to a question by four Democratic Left Alliance deputies concerned about appointing a person "who swore loyalty to the Queen of Britain" to a key post in the country. The deputies thought the nomination posed "a potential threat to the national sovereignty which may have serious consequences for security and the Polish reason of state." They also opined that by fighting in Afghanistan, where he acted as war correspondent, Sikorski had violated the Geneva Convention.

However, Minister Parys stated that under Polish law a person with Polish citizenship cannot be considered a citizen of other state. He also dismissed allegations that Sikorski violated the Geneva Convention.

In connection with the recent interview with General Victor Dubinin, the commander of former Soviet troops stationing in Poland, published in GAZETA WYBORCZA, Deputy Andrzej Urbanski asked Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz for a confirmation of the former's statement that Red Army troops were ready to enter into Poland in December 1981. Macierewicz stated he had no sufficient information to do so yet but added "the greatest danger is that such statements as Dubinin's one may be an attempt to interfere with the current disputes, arrangements and political games in the republic of Poland. It is dangerous, especially when general commanding foreign troops on our territory tries that."

Asked about Poland's participation in the UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia by two deputies of the Confederation for Independent Poland, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrzej Kostarczyk stated the UN Peace mission could in no way be considered an interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. "By taking part in the mission we undermine Poland's relations neither with Serbia nor Croatia," he assured.

First Deputy Prosecutor General Stanislaw Iwanicki declined to take a stand on paid informers of fiscal offices but recalled that such a possibility was created in the law on fiscal control adopted by the Sejm. "With Sejm consent the paying to informers is legally admissible," he stated.

Olszewski Assesses Results of France Visit

LD2103231592 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1850 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Olszewski by unidentified correspondent on 21 March; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister, what significance do the results of your visit to France and the visit by Minister Olechowski to Washington have for the government's economic program, and for the economy overall?

[Olszewski] Let us start with Minister Olechowski's visit, as it came first, and I think that for the economy it was even more important. First and foremost this is the beginning of the reinstatement of Poland's normal relations with the IMF. That means not only sorting out this area of issues but also a condition for Poland's normal relations with all the great international financial institutions. It is also a condition for obtaining foreign help from states on an international scale. This is a good forecast for this budget year.

However, if we are talking about my French trip, above all it was a question of breaking what I would call a certain crisis; that is what it is called in the area of our mutual relations. We were arguing about beef and about the level of supplies of Polish steel. Here our interests, sometimes understood in very narrow economic categories, collided with French interests, and quite simply, one must say, sometimes were mutually hampering each other. I think this visit resulted in these relations being smoothed out, and we are reentering a very wide structure of complete agreement, and not only economic. I think that the results of these talks are going to have considerably broader results on a political scale, not only for Poland, not only for France, but perhaps for our entire region of Europe.

[Correspondent] Was your visit to France not an attemot to save what Poland has lost but what has been won by, for example, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in an economic sense over the last year?

[Olszewski] One could say that generally overseas investment conditions [word indistinct] of Czechoslovakia are regarded in international business spheres as being better than in Poland. We tried to work out how this has occured, as somehow or other legal concessions for foreign investors are very wide in Poland. We decided—and the visit to France, in Paris, and at meetings with representatives of the French Patronat [employer's association] strengthened our thoughts on this—that the specific feature of Polish relations is a certain administrative debility, [word indistinct] coming into contact with investors who are used to free market foreign econmies, quite simply lose patience. Hence, we decided to create a certain special mechanism for this matter in order to break that kind of impasse. That was announced during the French visit and was accepted very well by

representatives of French industry. But it is of significance, naturally, not only for French investors. We will be trying to create an institutional safeguard for improving the investment processes in Poland, and I believe that this will bring very quick results.

[Correspondent] The IMF representatives have given a positive assessment to the government's economic program. Does this means that the government, in planning the budget, moved away from the assumptions; did the government change the economic program?

[Olszewski] Of course not. Right from the very beginning we declared that we had just this one economic program. A program which stems from assumptions; [we declared] that we could change it in mid-stream—quite simply the right conditions do not exist for such a move. Anyway, we are certain of its correctness. The fact that it was not adopted by the Sejm, did not get accepted, does not change the fact that faced with the responsibility of preparing a budget for 1992 we could take—as assumptions for this budget—only this and no other program, and this is what we tried to do.

[Correspondent] The national parties [as heard] say that the declarations of assumptions are not reflected in the budget. What significance could this have as far as support for the government's program is concerned?

[Olszewski] It is difficult to say. There is still a Sejm debate to come, so certain specific postulates—if they should be tabled—will probably be clarified. However, I think that during this debate we will come to one conclusion: that just as the peasant parties believe that the interests of their milieu—that is the milieu of the Polish countryside—have not been sufficiently taken into account in the budget, it is likely that the same conclusions will be reached by all the other social milieux. In the same way the whole budgetary sphere, all budget-sphere employees, might feel wronged. Doubtless there will be no clear improvement for very many clerical groups, and also for workers' groups. This will, quite simply, be really a very difficult year, but this is something which we have said right from the very beginning: The standard of State finances did not empower us unfortunately to make any very optimistic prognoses.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, this last week you have had many meetings with politicians and others. Which do you consider to have been the most important?

[Olszewski] I will answer this question very subjectively, not from the viewpoint of importance but from the viewpoint of the impression which the meeting with representatives of the Forum of Polish Engineers made on me. I have to say that the critique and the remarks put forward by this forum made the deepest impression on me. It made me realize the importance of this social group: that of the Polish technical intelligentsia, which probably now really cannot find a clearly defined place for itself in the implementation of the government program, although it ought to. Those are my own impressions from the meeting, which I believe are going to have to find some reflection in the near future in certain government decisions and measures.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the course of the negotiations concerning the expanding of the coalition? Have the negotiations gone beyond being declarations of good will by all sides? [Olszewski] This was perhaps a week, as far as I am concerned, favoring the progression of these matters, because I quite simply was out of the country for a considerable part of the week. There were very important budget matters in the first half of the week which absorbed me completely. At this stage it is rather meetings between leaders and the leaderships of political parties which are taking place, and I know that the interested parties are carefully studying government documents as well. We will see what the result of this is going to be in perhaps a week's time.

[Correspondent] But on Monday you met the leader of the [Democratic] Union. What do you think—what is going to be the most difficult compromise to be reached in these negotiations ?

[Olszewski] I do not know what the most difficult will be, but I know what is most important. Programmatic issues undoubtedly must be the subject, and that is of a completely fundamental agreement. A government which does not have a joint program—and in this sphere a joint and unequivocal orientation—quite simply will not stand a chance on this matter.

Visiting Delegation Discusses Poles in Lithuania

LD2003221992 Warsaw PAP in English 1742 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Activists of the Union of Poles in Vilnius, now on a visit to Poland, expressed hope Friday [20 March] that Poland and Lithuania would develop good neighbourly relations. During their meeting with Sejm (lower house) Deputy Speaker Henryk Bak they blamed the Polish Government for poor effects of endeavours towards this end, which they termed as "paper actions."

Chairman of the Union Stanislaw Korczynski and member of the Union's Council Czeslaw Malewki came to Warsaw to inform their Polish hosts about efforts made by the Polish minority in Lithuania and the Polish Floor Group in the Lithuanian Parliament to guarantee the 300,000 Polish Lithuanians their due rights. The Lithuanian guests, who are visiting Poland at the invitation of the Polish Community Organization for Liaison with Poles Living Abroad, also met with leaders of the Centre Alliance (PC) parliamentary caucus.

The Lithuanian issue was also discussed during a joint meeting of presidia of Sejm and Senate committees for foreign affairs and Sejm and Senate committees for contacts with Poles residing abroad. "Deputies and senators expressed their deep concern over the delayed

elections to local governments in districts inhabited by ethnic Poles (in Lithuania). All this, combined with the accusations raised against Polish deputies to the Lithuanian parliament and actions threatening the property rights of Poles living in Lithuania, makes an impression that the Lithuanian authorities are pursuing an unfriendly policy towards Poland," reads a statement issued by Polish parliamentarians.

After examining the situation of Poles in Lithuania the presidium of the Centre Alliance (PC) Parliamentary Caucus stated Friday that "the authorities of free Lithuania are making further steps aimed against basic rights of the Polish minority. If continued, these steps may cool down relations between our countries and hamper the acceptance of Lithuania by international organizations," the PC parliamentarians warned.

On the other hand, "historical links of Poland with Lithuania and the two countries' neighbourhood offer chance to shape their relations in a way that may serve as an example for uniting Europe," the parliamentarians wrote in a statement issued after the meeting. The PC caucus urged the Polish Foreign Ministry to "start all diplomatic actions possible under the present circumstances to protect the endangered rights of Poles in the republic of Lithuania."

Official Contends Lithuanian Relations 'Cooling'

LD2003212692 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1350 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The recent steps taken by the Lithuanian Government regarding the Polish minority in Lithuania, and mainly the deferral by the Lithuanian Parliament of a discussion on the date of elections to the dissolved Polish Self-Government Council, dominated today's meeting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs devoted to Poland's eastern policy. Jacek Czaputowicz, director of the consular department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the Polish side had demonstrated much good will toward the Lithuanian Government, but after these recent decisions a cooling of Polish-Lithuanian relations is a fact. Our correspondent Krysztyna Koziol spoke to Czaputowicz:

[Koziol] To what extent is the Lithuanian parliament's decision unequivocal? Is there still some hope?

[Czaptowicz] The decision was voted on, although our mission reports that the Polish faction is demanding a renewed vote, as there is some controversy about the formation of a quorum during the voting. Indeed, many deputies were not present. Perhaps there will be a renewed vote in the coming days.

Ministry Official on Relations With Russia, East

LD2103000192 Warsaw PAP in English 0013 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—Deputy Director of the European Department in the Polish Foreign Ministry Jakub Wolasiewicz declared, at the Thursday [19 March] meeting with newsmen, that Poland attaches the utmost importance to its Eastern policy and pointed that Polish relations with Russia entered into a delicate phase because of the final stage of negotiations on the former Soviet Army withdrawal from Poland.

"There are no political problems related to the matter. The former Soviet combat units are to be withdrawn by November 15 this year and the remaining part by the end of 1993," he said and added that the issue of financial and property accounts and ecological damage caused by the army stationing is still vital.

Wolasiewicz said that the Polish Foreign Ministry considered economic agreements as a matter of paramount importance in Polish-Russian relations. Acknowledging both countries difficult economic situation he stated that time has come to find a positive solution to the issue of mutual debt.

He stated that Poland is primarily interested in development of cooperation with the Kaliningrad region, which constitutes an integral part of the Russian republic. "To meet this end a separate agreement is to be signed soon, he disclosed."

Representative to North Atlantic Assembly Named

LD2003214992 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—Janusz Onyszkiewicz of the Democratic Union has become chairman of a delegation of Polish Parliament to the North Atlantic Assembly made up of members of parliaments of the 16 NATO states and several East European states, including Poland, as associate members. The Assembly meets at plenary sessions twice a year, its members exchange views and opinions and present recommendations to the North Atlantic Council. The nine-person delegation of the Polish Parliament is to take part in a session of the North Atlantic Assembly to be held in Canada in mid-May. Like representatives of parliaments of other East European countries, the Polish delegation can take part in discussion but has no right to vote.

Article Views Trilateral Cross-Border Program

PM1603144192 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 26 Feb 92 p 3

[Janusz Strzelczyk article: "Jelenia Gora-Liberec-Zittau 'Euroregion in the Black Triangle'"]

[Text] The subject of cooperation between border regions of neighboring countries was prominent in the news last year because of the so-called Stolpe Plan. According to the plan, Poland's western voivodships—Szczecin, Gorzow, and Zielona Gora—were to cooperate—mostly in the economic sector—with Germany's eastern laender. This interesting and controversial proposal was destined to remain in the sphere of intentions.

Meanwhile, in another part of our country the idea of cross-border cooperation has been put into practice.

The attractive, graphically striking promotional posters displayed in the corridors of Jelenia Gora's Voivodship Office provide information—in German—on the Euroregion which has been named the "Dreilaenderecke." A stylized star sporting the national colors of Poland, Germany, and Czecho-Slovakia is shown side by side with European Community's well-known star-spangled flag.

In December 1991 the relevant regional authorities decided to set up the Euroregional Council, comprising representatives of Jelenia Gora Voivodship, Zittau Kreise [district], and the district of Liberec. This represented an initiative of a truly local nature, undertaken under the patronage of each respective country's government administration.

Several conferences devoted to the elaboration of the principles of the future cooperation have been held to date. On the Polish side, 34 out of 40 parishes in the area declared their accession to the Euroregion. Six working groups have been set up to attend to practical and detailed problems of the planned cooperation. The most important of these, especially for us, is the question of environmental protection. Certain areas around Jelenia Gora (in particular the Izerskie Mountains region) have already been declared an ecological disaster zone in which entire forests have been destroyed. However, Poland is not solely responsible for this environmental devastation. Research carried out by specialists at the Wroclaw Polytechnic established that our country emits some 20 percent of the harmful atmospheric pollutants which concentrate in the area, with Czech industry responsible for a further 46-50 percent and the Germans for the rest. Pollutants from as far as the Ruhr Basin and the Munich area have been found here.

Ecological concerns will be incorporated in the "Black Triangle's" cooperation program. It is planned to restore biological life in the River Nysa, which enters Polish territory already as polluted and poisoned as an industrial sewer. The Euroregion received an assurance from the EEC Commission that 3 million ECU would be allocated to finance environmental protection schemes in the area. Some of that sum will be spent on monitoring the level of pollution and the rest on the construction of facilities designed to reduce and arrest the deterioration of the natural environment.

Each of the sides—albeit in differing degrees—will contribute financially to the practical cooperation schemes. Parishes in Jelenia Gora voivodship agreed to introduce an environmental tax. This is not a lot of money, but at present we cannot afford to offer more. Of course, Germany is the strongest partner in the cooperation scheme—and not only in terms of financial standing. Zittau has the advantage of the experience of Germany's western laender, many of which are already in cooperation—within similar Euroregion schemes—with neighboring border districts of Switzerland, France, and Holland. The "Dreilaenderecke" region will draw on the experience of those earlier, already well-established schemes.

Each side of the triangle hopes for a new dynamic growth of economic contacts. The Czechs are most interested in this side of the planned cooperation. Many companies from the region of Liberec have already applied for information on Polish enterprises to the scheme's data bank, established at the Jelenia Gora Voivodship Office. The Germans are more reticent in this respect.

The next Euroregion conference is scheduled for 29 February. Among other things, it will discuss the proposed scheme for setting up border schools throughout the area, with the language of instruction the same as that spoken by the neighbors over the border.

New border crossing posts designed primarily for local traffic are scheduled to be opened before the end of this year. A major new terminal at Jedrzychowice is scheduled to be opened in 1994. This should provide relief for the border crossing post at Zgorzelec, which is already "bursting at the seams." Already a private Polish-German joint venture has opened an additional customs clearance unit at Zgorzelec, taking advantage of the recent upsurge in local Polish-German commercial dealings.

All three sides are vesting high hopes for future development in the Euroregion scheme. The living standard and the degree of industrial organization are roughly comparable in the regions of Jelenia Gora, Liberec, and Zittau. Although the local Germans have their own rich cousins over the Elbe, they still find it natural to join forces with their closest neighbors in the east and the south. For the Poles and the Czechs this could prove the fastest road to Europe.

Iliescu, Moldava's Snegur Hold News Conference

AU2203155192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 21 Mar 92

[News conference by President Ion Iliescu and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur at Bucharest Otopeni Airport on 21 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed listeners, President Ion Iliescu held talks this morning with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur. The representatives of the press will ask them for statements and clarifications and ask them some questions.

[Iliescu] At the beginning, I would like to say a few words. We always greet with pleasure the representatives of the Republic of Moldova. We have had another opportunity to receive them with pleasure, greet them, and hold talks with them, that is, with President Snegur, Parliament President Mosanu, and Prime Minister Muravschi.

The talks were attended by our representatives, including the two presidents of the parliamentary chambers, Prime Minister Stolojan, and Foreign Minister Nastase. As usual, we used this opportunity to brief each other on the problems confronting us and our friends in Moldova and on the issues of cooperation between our states, including the treaty, certain economic issues, and political problems that we are confronting. One particular issue that we discussed was the conflict in Transdniestria and the evolutions of this conflict. We hailed the fact that the participants in the Kiev meeting adopted a declaration supporting the efforts of the Moldovan political leadership to find political solutions to this conflict and to reach an agreement with the leadership of the Army, regarding the support in the same direction and the support with the efforts made by Moldova to organize its own armed forces and take over the troops and equipment from the right bank of the Dniester River.

Likewise, we held talks on the Helsinki meeting which will be attended by the two foreign ministers, as well as on certain common positions that the ministers should present there. Thus, this has been an opportunity to carry out briefings, exchange opinions, and agree on certain positions. This has been the substance of our talks.

[Snegur] I would also like to confirm that today's meeting is one of the meetings that have become traditional and more regular. We need to hold consultations on various issues, economic as well as political ones, particularly on the fact that today we are confronting certain moments that I could call tragic in the Transdniestrian region. Thus, we held talks on this issue. We informed the Romanian leadership about the results of the meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] leaders in Kiev, and the support that we received from the leaders of these states in our policy to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Moldova. In connection with what Mr. Iliescu said, I would like to add that we also talked about speeding the process of working out, or better said, finalizing the friendship treaty to be concluded as soon as possible between the Republic of Moldova and Romania.

[Mihai Pelescu of the *Current Events* TV program] During the recent Kiev meeting, Moldova was supported by all CIS leaders, both as far as its territorial integrity as well as the solutions to the Transdniestrian situation are concerned. My question is the following: Is there practical support for solving this problem?

[Snegur] Yes, I believe that the moral support is worth mentioning. This means a lot at such difficult moments, and if we are talking about the practical support, I think that we could refer to those points in which is mentioned the need not to admit the penetration of certain foreign forces on the territory of the Republic of Moldova. If this has already happened, such as, for example, the Cossacks entered Moldova, they must be withdrawn immediately and not admitted again through the territory of certain countries. In this respect, I thought appropriate to thank the leadership of the Republic of Ukraine, who have already made a statement, and who are already taking concrete measures on stopping certain persons of Cossack origin who are still attempting to enter the Transdniestrian area.

These would be the practical measures, as far as the rest is concerned, everything depends on us.

[Calin Petrescu of *Current Events*] President Iliescu, I would like to ask you a question: From your point of view, namely that of Romania, how do you see this problem of the Transdniestrian events?

[Iliescu] We have expressed this publicly, mainly through the government declaration. I personally sent two letters to Presidents Kravchiuk and Yeltsin, which have been published. We believe that it is our duty to support politically the efforts made by the leadership of Moldova, and we called on Ukraine and Russia to take joint action in order to support these efforts toward finding political solutions to these problems.

We believe that Moldova, as a member of the United Nations and the CSCE, must be supported in asserting itself and consolidating its independence, and is due the respect of an independent state as far as its sovereignty and integrity is concerned. I believe that the violation of the territory of an independent state by such groups who provoke conflicts on Moldovan territory should be appropriately condemned.

[Rodica Avram of CURIERUL NATIONAL] I would like to ask President Snegur a question. Mr. President, you have just said that the situation is still tense in the Transdniestrian area. Do you believe that there are real opportunities for this situation to be solved exclusively through peaceful means?

[Snegur] I have always opted for peaceful solutions to the critical situation in Transdniestria. I believe that efforts

and actions in this direction cannot be halted for a moment, considering that for more than 72 hours calm has been maintained in Transdniestria, no shooting has been heard, and considering that attempts to solve these problems peacefully have begun with proposals advanced and supported by the Moldovan parliament. In any event, I consider the only way to be the peaceful way. There is no other more reasonable alternative. I have seen today in MOLDOVA SUVERANA [SOVEREIGN MOLDOVA] the picture of the policemen who were buried this week and I have not recovered from that image. Thus, I will continue to do all I can in the future too, not to allow any more shooting. I want everything to end well and for a civic peace to be established. I think that this would be an answer to your question. I do not see any other way, even if there are cases of the actions of certain forces that are outstanding and are not part of the structure of the population on the left bank of the Dniester Riven, and even if maybe not all of them support the policy of the current leadership of the republic, peace is still ahead of us in the future.

[Sonia Lungu of ROMPRES] President Snegur, the local paper (?DINOM) today carries a report quoting the Moldovan authorities as saying that if the Cossacks prolong their stay in the region, Romanian volunteers will be invited to Moldova. Are you really considering this?

[Snegur] I was informed about the publication of this report after I arrived in Bucharest. This is nothing but a fabrication. I believe that it is not a fabrication as far as the Cossacks are concerned, because not only is Russian radio broadcasting such reports but (?Ostankino) Television is offering its screen to all kinds of people who are in favor of Cossacks coming to Transdniestria and pretending to defend the Slav population from certain genocide. Thus, as far as the Cossacks are concerned, I believe that such action is possible and I will probably take appropriate steps. At least I will protest to the leadership of Russia. As far as Romanian volunteers are concerned, however, this is simply a fabrication.

[Unidentified TASS correspondent] President Snegur, how do you view yesterday's Kiev meeting, or more precisely, the official position of Russia and Ukraine in connection with the Transdniestrian conflict?

[Snegur] First of all, I view Ukraine's position as a constructive position, considering that Ukraine spoke out in connection with this conflict and because Ukraine has already established a control system at the borders between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine and has already—I want to repeat this—taken concrete measures in order to stop the transit of the Cossacks or others who wish to enter Transdniestria. It is desirable that more prompt action be taken by Russia too, and since the declaration regarding the situation in Moldova was also signed by the leader of the Russian delegation, President Boris Yeltsin, I believe that such measures will be taken by him, too.

[Corina Cretu of AZI] President Snegur, in an interview recently published in Moldova, Prime minister Valeriu Muravschi, said that there is a secret understanding between Mircea Druc [president of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova] and Igor Smirnov, the self-proclaimed president of Transdniestria. He said that a united force, which could act through the People's Front, is favored. Do you share this view, and if so, what concrete arguments do you have to support these statements? In any event, what role do you believe that the People's Front, which recently has become Christian and democratic, is playing in Transdniestria?

[Snegur] Mr. Muravschi is present here. I do not know what agency's report was quoted here, but I myself do not believe that he would have made such a statement to the effect that there would be an understanding between the leadership of the Popular Front and the separatists' leader Igor Smirnov. I really do not know what people of good faith on the right bank of the Dniester could try to accomplish by having contacts with such a leader, who can be called nothing but an enemy of those on both banks of the Dniester. As far as the second part of your question is concerned, I believe that in these times all democratic forces of the republic, including the current leadership and the opposition, should consolidate and support the cause of independence and freedom, the cause of the people.

[Name of correspondent and publication indistinct] What can you tell us about the action of Moldova taking over the army on the other side of the Dniester River, and when will this happen?

[Snegur] If I understand you correctly, you have referred to the creation of the national army of the republic and....

[Iliescu, interrupting] ...and taking over the troops on the right side of the Dniester River, she is referring to the Kiev Muravschi-Shaposhnikov accord.

[Snegur] Yes, as you very well know, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova from the very beginning promoted the idea of creating their own armed forces, and we will continue to advance on this road. I can say that indeed yesterday in Kiev the first step had been made by Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi and Supreme Commander of the Joint CIS forces, Shaposhnikov; the foundation for establishing these armed forces has been set. A great part of the military units on the right bank of the Dniester River are to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Moldova, which becomes a basis for creating the armed forces.

[Reporter] How many units?

[Snegur] On the military subject, there are also certain notions about which I think one cannot talk.

[Peter Sragher of ADEVARUL] Mr. President Snegur, do you believe that there is a direct and underground connection between the robbery with such ease of the

14th CIS Army by the separatist groups on the left bank of the Dniester River and Russia's declaration that if Moldova unites with Romania the self proclaimed republic of Transdniestria must be excluded from this union?

[Snegur] I regret that I am not informed about Russia's declarations as far as the Transdniestrian Republic is concerned, however, as far as the beginning of your question is concerned, I am simply expressing bewilderment about the fact that a group of women can attack a military unit, and the officers and soldiers are not able to stop them from clearing out the depots of all kind of weapons. Thus, there is no doubt that there is a certain connection between certain forces from the outside of the republic and separatist forces.

[Correspondent name indistinct, ROMPRES] I understand that both of you, Mr. Iliescu, and Mr. President Snegur stressed the desire to establish peace through political means. However, I would like to ask you, have you mentioned the possibility of military support granted by Romania to Moldova in case peace is not achieved? And a question for Mr. Snegur, how do you believe that an agreement and real peace will be reached after the Dniestrian response to your offer to create a free economic zone was that, no, they want a federative state with a flag with joint symbols.

[Iliescu] I believe—and we have discussed this today, too—that it is not the military way that will lead to solutions to problems. However, we are witnessing a period of development of political relations on European and international level. The Republic of Moldova was accepted among the countries that joined the CSCE, the Helsinki meeting of the foreign ministries follows, Moldova was accepted among the members of the United Nations, and there are certain proclaimed international principles regarding the respect of territorial integrity of states. The Republic of Moldova is an independent and sovereign state that is part of these international communities, and I believe that these norms of the international law must lead to political actions and to concrete actions. Thus, I believe that the major support that we can and must grant Moldova is the political support that our country is granting together with developing relations in all areas: economic, cultural, and other areas. However, as an independent state, Moldova can approach to anybody to develop its own defense forces, to consolidate its own integrity and sovereignty. Within the context of these relations it is not excluded such a possibility that Romania, in its relations with Moldova, extend its assistance to it more than to any other state, as it deems fit, without getting involved in military conflict, just assisting to solve problems in a reasonable way.

[Snegur] As far as the proposals issued by the government and accepted by the parliament as far as the establishment of a free economic zone and rejecting the creation of a separate republic are concerned, and excluding the idea of federalizing the Republic of Moldova, sincerely speaking, we put great hope in the mentality of the enterprise managers, who I believe can have a positive influence on the few leaders in the Transdniestria. I can say that truthfully because the leaders themselves are facing only one direction, they recognize nothing else except the independence and federalization and other such things. Thus this proposal was made maybe not so much for the leaders as for the population living in that region, because they can influence the enterprise managers and through them we can influence also the Transdniestrian leaders.

[Unidentified correspondent from REUTER] Could you tell us when the accord between Romania and Moldova will be signed and when the meeting between the four foreign ministers of Romania, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine will take place to reach a negotiated result on this conflict?

[Iliescu] As far as the treaty is concerned, we discussed its content, and it is in an advanced stage of drafting by the representatives of the two foreign ministries. The two foreign ministers will also leave together for Helsinki and will continue talking about these issues, and we have appropriate conditions hat will permit that by the end of this month the treaty could be signed.

[Snegur] As far as the meeting of the foreign ministers in the four countries is concerned, I believe that these talks will begin next week in Helsinki, starting with Monday [23 March] and maybe a round table will be held with the four ministers and maybe a document or declaration will be signed in which these countries would guarantee in a certain way to create appropriate conditions to solve these problems in Transdniestria.

[Unidentified correspondents] We thank you.

Manolescu Discusses PAC Election Prospects

AU1803163392 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 11 Mar 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "I Am Fascinated by Political Games"]

[Text] Before leaving for Paris, Civic Alliance Party President [PAC] Nicolae Manolescu, was kind enough to grant an interview, which was also attended by [member of PAC leadership] Stelian Tanase.

[Alexandru] What is the purpose of your visit to France?

[Manolescu] I will meet with politicians and journalists, whom I will thoroughly brief on the political situation in Romania after the elections, on what has happened, and on what we plan to do from now on.

[Alexandru] Do you expect to receive any professional help from your French friends on the conduct of your election campaign?

[Manolescu] I will have talks with electoral management specialists to learn as much as possible about conducting such a campaign. I have already held discussions in Bucharest with some of them.

[Alexandru] What will you do if the Democratic Convention [CD] falls apart?

[Manolescu] A meeting of top CD officials will be held this week to establish the course of future actions. I can almost say for certain that opposition unity will be preserved. I do not know yet how the convention will function, however.

[Alexandru] Have you decided to withdraw your presidential candidacy?

[Manolescu] I have never said that. I have said that we are interested in having one CD candidate and that that person has a real chance. I will not run to split the opposition. If, during the discussions ahead, someone emerges who enjoys the support of the entire convention, then of course we will go with that person.

[Alexandru] Are you satisfied with the results of the local elections?

[Manolescu] We are satisfied when bearing in mind that this organization has existed for only 10 months. We have become a national party represented in all counties throughout the country. We have mayors in Timisoara, Brasov, Arad, Sibiu, Sinaia, Campina, and many deputy mayors and councillors.

[Alexandru] What do you think of the statements by some Hungarian officials and the reaction of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—your partner in the CD?

[Manolescu] In my opinion, statements by private or official people should not be viewed necessarily as the government's viewpoint. Such statements do not represent the entire neighboring country. One has to see who is making the statement and in what context, and respond cautiously. I would respond to the person who has made the statement, but I would not accuse the whole country or entire government. We did not like it either when Ceausescu was charged with certain things and Romania was referred to as if all of us were in solidarity with Ceausescu. This is the difference between us and the Romanian National Unity Party, which tends to attribute any statement, no matter when it was made and for what purpose, to the entire government or to the whole Hungarian nation.

[Alexandru] What is the relationship between the Civic Alliance Party and the Civic Alliance Movement?

[Manolescu] The Civic Alliance Movement continues to function. It provided some observers during the election campaign, people who traveled all over the country and gave us moral and material support. They supported the party without directly making policy.

[Alexandru] Is the Civic Alliance Party a political club or has it been able to become a national party?

[Manolescu] We have branches in all counties and in hundreds of large and small towns. There are only three parties within the CD with branches throughout the country: the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Civic Alliance Party.

[Alexandru] You have stated in the press that the Civic Alliance Party may possibly get close to Petre Roman's group.

(This question was answered by Stelian Tanase).

[Tanase] It was I who anticipated such a move. In light of the presidential elections, Romanian voters will automatically polarize around the two main candidates. Within the context of blocking Iliescu completely, a regrouping of forces is necessary, including with the anti-Iliescu elements within the National Salvation Front [FSN]. On another issue, I believe that Roman has no chance of surviving the FSN national convention.

(Mr. Manolescu wishes to add something).

[Manolescu] I personally think that, as a politician within the Front, Roman has chances, because I cannot see any other figure to replace him.

[Alexandru] Yet, at this point, such figures may emerge very rapidly. An example would be Theodor Stolojan.

[Manolescu] Every time Mr. Stolojan has made political statements, he has been wrong. He is very good in his financial profession. The moment he begin making political statements he made some terrible gaffes. You realize what it means if he makes a two or three such gaffes during the campaign.

[Alexandru] Are you satisfied with the change in your life, from being a literary critic to a politician?

[Manolescu] I am fascinated by political games, I am fascinated by politics. I have a great sense of responsibility in what I do. This does not rule out that sometimes I regret that I am not doing what I was used to do. I now have other satisfactions which I formerly did not have, however.

[Alexandru] What are the prospects of ROMANIA LITERARA?

[Manolescu] ROMANIA LITERARA barely makes ends meet, like all Writers' Union magazines. We have changed the distribution system, dismissed some people, and done all we could. The Writers' Union will continue to survive and the magazine too, if not....

Verdet Interviewed on PSM Election Prospects

AU1803140292 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 13 Mar 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Ilie Verdet, president of the Socialist Labor Party, by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given: "Seventy Percent of the Independents Are Members of the Socialist Labor Party"]

[Text] [Verdet] Before you ask any questions, I would like to draw your attention to certain problems. The first is our access to the news media. Romanian newspapers avoid discussing things with us, and do not allow us to present our position whenever we wish. Is anyone afraid of this party? We are promoting political struggle exclusively by the democratic means stipulated by law. If someone is afraid of this party, it means that he is afraid of democracy. Many journalists, some of whom used to work for the party press before the revolution, simply suffer from a complex. They avoid contacting us so as not to be called communists. Is it normal for the BBC and Radio Free Europe to transmit 25-minute reports on the Socialist Labor Party [PSM], while Romanian television devotes only six minutes to us in a whole year?

Another problem is generated by the impression that we are on the point of nominating a new master. If, let's say, I would have paid a party visit to Beijing, it would have turned into a big issue. Now that the U.S. State Department, which is a state and not party body, is inviting the leaders of the opposition parties (National Liberal Party, National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, Civic Alliance Party, and Social Democratic Party of Romania), no one says anything. On the contrary, this visit is viewed as a great achievement. When will this visit take place? Now, before the general and presidential elections. The intention is obvious. All this, while the state authorities, the president, prime minister, and Romanian parliamentarians are treated by Washington as if they did not exist. Also within the framework of the same policy, in 1991 "Fratia" trade union received $225,000 from the United States "for development and for strengthening its capability to build a democratic workers movement." I have quoted from the reasons of the U. S. National Institute for Democracy. And what kind of democratic workers movement has "Fratia" built, when it actually is organizing electoral meetings for the Democratic Convention? A few days before the elections, "Fratia" supporters were chanting in Aviators Square "Vote for the Key" [Democratic Convention symbol], "King Mihai," "Down with Iliescu," and—in general—you name it. Probably it is this type of workers movement that was suggested in the instructions provided by the sponsors. We cannot agree with a policy attempting to maneuver domestic political forces for purposes that are alien to us. We expect sincere and friendly cooperation with all countries while preserving our national sovereignty. Now I am ready for your questions.

[Alexandru] Is the PSM legally registered as a party?

[Verdet] Yes. The definitive court decision dates back to 23 January. There were two appearances in front of the Tribunal where I presented all the necessary documents. The Steering Committee was responsible for the legal part, the statute, and the party program.

[Alexandru] How is organizational activity proceeding at the local level?

[Verdet] At this point we have a well-organized party structure made up of a National Committee, county committees nationwide, and municipal, town, and communal committees. Regional basic organizations—according to districts and areas of activity—are operating under their jurisdiction.

[Alexandru] What do you think of the election results of the Democratic Leftist Union [USD]?

[Verdet] The Democratic Leftist Union went to the polls without the PSM, therefore I view the results as inconclusive. Before eliminating the PSM from the elections, the USD covered all counties and municipalities with its lists. Without the PSM, however, the lists covered only 21 counties. I can tell you, however, now that many people are surprised at the great number of votes achieved by the independent candidates, that some 70 percent of the elected independents are PSM members. Since the party was not permitted to register its own candidates, people registered as independents and the results are known.

[Alexandru] There are signs, especially on the part of Democratic Socialist Party President Cornel Nica, that the USD is falling apart.

[Verdet] We want a united left and we will act in this direction. Of course, we do not compel anyone, but we favor unity and we hope that the moment generated by Mr. Nica's embarrassing show has been overcome.

[Alexandru] What do you think of Ion Ratiu's position of opposing a ban on the Communist Party?

[Verdet] Mr. Ratiu cannot be suspected of holding leftist views, but he has a stronger sense of democracy than some people who view themselves as the champions of democracy, such as Petre Roman or Radu Campeanu. Time will decide whether such a party is feasible or not.

[Alexandru] What kind of policy will the PSM promote in the presidential elections?

[Verdet] If we do not have our own candidate (no decision has been made yet in this respect) then we will most probably support Mr. Iliescu, because his center-leftist social-democratic policy is closer to ours than the one offered by the rightist parties' coalition. As a matter of fact, Mr. Iliescu has proved his qualities as president in numerous critical situations when he was able to appease tension.

[Alexandru] What are your relations with the Romania Mare Party?

[Verdet] We maintain cooperative relations, and it is possible that in a future parliament we may form a united group. At this point, however, I cannot foresee the implementation of the Corneliu Vadim proposal concerning a National Party because we have still a number of different viewpoints.

[Alexandru] Why do you think Mr. Campeanu favors a new referendum on the form of government?

[Verdet] You have to wonder when you hear such proposals by a man of a certain stature. He probably wants to delay the presidential elections in hope that this break may generate personal advantages among the electorate and among his political allies. Otherwise, the referendum does not make any sense, now that the Constitution has been endorsed twice.

[Alexandru] It would be interesting to hear your position on the latest statements by the Hungarian minister of defense.

[Verdet] I am not concerned at all about Fur's position. What I am concerned about is the lack of credible and effective measures for political, diplomatic, and military defense. The people have to be sure that there is a system of alliances and friendship with other states that will guarantee national security. What Mr. Fur said betrays Budapest's plans, which hope that now, after Yugoslavia, Romania will follow. If up to now it did not want to admit links between the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian emigres, at this point, however, the World Union of Hungarians has moved its headquarters to Budapest. The doctrine of that union was read in the Hungarian Parliament and Defense Minister Fur probably drew on it.

[Alexandru] The idea that some trade unions would like to turn into parties has been raised.

[Verdet] I think that these initiatives belong to trade union leaders who, in this way, are trying to use the trade union movement for personal advantages. We have heard of enough situations in which leaders announced a strike without consulting the masses of workers. There is a tendency by certain leaders to use the trade unions for the political interests of certain parties and these tendencies are also fanned from abroad. Trade unions cannot be rightist because their mission is to protect the interests of the workers. Trade unions should be reorganized so that the higher levels—confederations or trade unions—are the mouthpiece of the unions at the base of the pyramid and not the decisionmakers as this is the case now.

Miners Union Confederation Holds Conference

AU2103214692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1992—Petrosani was the venue Saturday, 21 March, of the first extraordinary conference of the Miners Unions Confederation of Romania (CSMR). The 182 participants, delegated from 230 nominees of the founding leagues members, debated and approved the statute of the confederation.

In his address, Marian Miclici, president of the "Sygma" cartel, Craiova, who attended as guest, specified that the the 17 March action was a Sygma initiative and did not involve miners unions of the Jiu Valley or other places, whose leaderships, however, were invited to side with the Craiovan Cartel. "Neither I nor Miron Cosma proposed to overthrow the rule of law in Romania, nor did we plot against the government or parliament. We have managed to perfectly coordinate our actions, to cause no disorder and to avert any maneuvering attempts by any provoking or destabilising group. It is true, we have demanded the resignation of the government, because the problems left pending may become, in my opinion, alarming not long from now."

Elaborating on the three days' negotiations in Bucharest, Miron Cosma, chairman of the CSMR Executive Bureau, pointed out: "Our dialogue with the government is not over yet. We are still negotiating. We are thoroughly examining all the aspects and correlating them with the answers we receive, and we hope we shall be understood, because our actions we take exclusively in the interest of the trade unions, trade union members, their families, for the purpose of stopping the economic decline of the country and improve its general situation."

International

Milosevic Greece-Macedonia Mediator Role Denied

LD2203235292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] The Greek Government has denied claims that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who has been on a private visit to Greece since Thursday, is playing the role of a mediator between Macedonia and Greece, which opposes any EC recognition until Macedonia changes its present name.

Milosevic is expected in Skopje today for a meeting with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov. Greek Government Spokesman Polidhoras and Foreign Minister Samaras said that they did not know the details of Milosevic's travel plans. The Yugoslav Embassy would only say that today, Sunday, the Serbian president was not in the embassy [in Athens] where he has been staying since his arrival in Athens. Slobodan Milosevic is expected to meet the Greek foreign minister on 23 March, authorized Greek sources report.

UNPROFOR General on Role of Blue Berets

LD2103202792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] Commander General Satish Nambiar of India says in an interview published today in the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE that the first task of the blue berets in Yugoslavia is to identify the potential crisis spots, i.e., areas where the danger of confrontation is the greatest, so that the blue-helmeted UNPROFOR troops can be deployed there. The U.N. troops from countries which are the closest to Yugoslavia will be deployed in the crisis areas within two weeks, says Gen. Nambiar and adds that he expects the rest of the blue helmets to join them in two or three months. This is because the troops from Argentina, Nepal, Kenya and Nigeria need more time to reach Yugoslavia, he explains.

When we complete the troops in the field, our task will be to disarm all armed elements on both sides, says Gen. Nambiar and adds that the Army should withdraw. He goes on to say that the UNPROFOR troops will assume control over these groups. The U.N. police force of around 500 men will assist local police in their duties, says Gen. Nambiar. The existing authorities and police in the crisis areas will continue performing their duties until a political settlement has been reached, the UNPROFOR commander says and explains that the UNPROFOR troops will control the main points and observe the terrain so that no other military formations can enter these zones.

He adds that some U.N. observers will be deployed in certain parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina to inform the main headquarters about any heightening of tension there in order to make sure that the ceasefire agreement is respected.

Asked whether there is any link between the UNPROFOR and the European Community observer mission, Gen. Nambiar says: There is no direct link because two different organizations are involved, but we will cooperate in any case.

Army, Croatia Agree on POW Exhange

LD2003231492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2154 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 20 (TANJUG)—Officials of the Yugoslav Defence Ministry and the army of the breakaway Republic of Croatia agreed this evening on an exchange of prisoners of war in three stages, under the principle "all for all". The accord was reached after two-day negotiations, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, in the Hungarian town of Pecs. A statement which TANJUG received said the exchange would begin on March 27 and will be carried out according to lists prepared in advance, which have been verified during the negotiations.

The accord enables, in principle, the exchange of all persons captured or arrested during the war in Croatia, the statement said, adding that the next meeting of the commission would be held in Budapest early next month. Today's meeting in Pecs, the third since this fall, is the first to be held outside Yugoslavia. The commission has already worked out the exchange of a number of prisoners of war.

Federal

Kostic Expects U.S. To Recognize United State

LD2203144692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Novi Sad, March 22 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav state Presidency Jugoslav Kostic today said that Yugoslavia's continuity will be maintained by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and added that he expected the European Community (E.C.) and the United States (U.S.) would recognize the right of the two republics to remain in a joint state. In an interview published today in the Novi Sad daily DNEVNIK, Kostic said he expected the recognition in April, simulatenously with the recognition of the other four Yugoslav Republics as independent states. The Republics of Slovenia and Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia last summer, and Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina also applied for international recognition.

The E.C. recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia in January this year, while the U.S. has not recognized any of the breakaway republics yet. Kostic pointed out that Serbia and Montenegro "will not stand in line before the E.C." and beg for statehood they have

had for a long time now, as some countries wish, especially Germany. In contrast to the other Yugoslav Republics, Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as independent states by the international community back at the 1878 Berlin Congress.

Kostic also said that Krajina, a Serb-populated region within Croatia's administrative borders, will remain a part of Yugoslavia as long as the United Nations (U.N.) peace operation is underway. He said he believed that the Serbs in Krajina would never accept to live in an independent Croatian state. Under the U.N. peace plan, the people in the U.N.-protected areas will decide at a referendum where they want to live. After Croatia's secession, the Serbs in parts of Croatia where they are the majority population decided at a referendum to remain in Yugoslavia.

UN Encouragement To Settle Crisis Assessed

LD2003173292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—A statement of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Ghali that there are certainly no obstacles for Yugoslavia to retain its name as member of the United Nations, made in New York last night, is "a new contribution to the continuity of Yugoslavia," it has been assessed at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry.

Federal Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary Milan Veres told TANJUG diplomatic editor today that he believes that "the coordination of further constructive action within the international community for settling the Yugoslav crisis" can be expected after Butrus-Ghali's statement. Such an action would contribute to settling the Yugoslav crisis on a real basis, Veres said.

Today's initial analysis of Ghali's statement by Belgrade diplomatic circles, accompanied by understandable caution, point out that this predominantly regards a solution of the Yugoslav crisis at a conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels. The U.S.-European declaration, recently adopted in Brussels, has caused opposing interpretations in Yugoslavia itself. The declaration does not specify who is the successor of Yugoslavia while at the same time its continuity is not mentioned.

Arriving for a meeting with the foreign ministers of the twelve in Brussels, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had a plan for recognizing four Yugoslav republics but also for recognizing the right of the common Serbia-Montenegrin state [word indistinct] the continuity of "old" Yugoslavia. Such a plan did not pass in the formulation of the declaration, which is the reason for the other dilemmas in the interpretation.

Following Butrus-Ghali's statement yesterday, some [word indistinct], including the essence of the Brussels declaration, are somewhat clearer. Namely, everything points to the conclusion that the Montenegrin state will win the right to continuity on Serbian [words indistinct] international scene [words indistinct] while succession is to be negotiated in Brussels within the conference on Yugoslavia.

Assembly Confirms SFRY Law in Force in Krajina

LD1803161292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly ended with the unanimous adoption of a law providing for the legal system to be applied in SFRY territory under special UN protection. Under the law, the SFRY Constitution and federal laws will continue to be in force in Krajina while under UN protection, parallel with local regulations providing they do not contradict federal law.

New Commander of Banja Luka Corps Appointed

LD2103234192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Major General Momir Talic, the former commander of the Banja Luka Corps Headquarters, has been appointed commander of this JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] formation, and Colonel Bosko Kelecevic has been appointed the Corps headquarters commander. As the corps' information service reported, the change in the Banja Luka Corps leadership is based on a decree by the SFRY Presidency. The same decree appoints Lieutenant Colonel General Vladimir Vukovic, former Banja Luka Corps commander, the commander of the 3d Military District Headquarters in Nis.

Army Members 'Seem To Favor' Civilian Leader

LD2103134392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1116 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) generally seem to favour the appointment of a civilian to the office of defense minister of Yugoslavia, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes today. Army circles have estimated that a civilian defense minister would mainly concern himself with global politics and would only be a figure who "represents" the Armed Forces, while military affairs and operative tasks would be in the hands of the general staff, POLITIKA reports.

The daily recalls that Yugoslav state Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic was the one who recently indicated the possibility that a civilian might be appointed to the office of defense minister. The JNA has not released any official commentaries yet, POLITIKA writes.

National Bank Imposes Controls on Macedonia Bank

LD2103205192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The National Bank of Yugoslavia has introduced the first degree of stricter control measures towards the Macedonian National Bank, as announced in Belgrade today. The board of governors of the Yugoslav National Bank (NBJ) last night decided to take these measures so as to protect the unity of the Yugoslav monetary system. The NBJ has asked the National Bank of the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to fix the date for introducing a new Macedonian currency, but the republic's national bank has not yet done so.

The measures are to make the "monetary separation" with Macedonia more fair than that with the secessionist Yugoslav Republics Slovenia and Croatia, the NBJ said in an announcement. Slovenia and Croatia late last year unilaterally decided to introduce their currencies and take over foreign exchange transactions, and in this way threatened Yugoslavia's monetary system. On January 1, the NBJ replaced the then valid bank notes in the remaining four republics, as a counter-measure.

Representatives of the NBJ and other national banks of the republics and provinces, in which the dinar is the means of payment, will be sent to the Macedonian National Bank to control payment operations, the use of the primary issue and part of the foreign exchange transfers. A special commission will be appointed to monitor cash supplies to the Macedonian National Bank, the NBJ announced.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Gorazde Council Declares State of Emergency

LD2103125792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Gorazde, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The National Defense Council of the Gorazde Municipal Assembly, in which there are no representatives of the Serbian nation, proclaimed a state of emergency today and adopted a decision restricting the movement of all people other than those working for those services needed to maintain life as usual. Special territorial defense units have also been mobilized.

The state of emergency was proclaimed after Serbs dissatisfied with several months of gasoline rationing erected barricades near a gasoline station last night. Gorazde Mayor Hadzo Efendic, who is also chairman of the Party of Democratic Action's municipal committee, refused to talk with representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party municipal committee's crisis headquarters. A Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly delegation and republican Internal Affairs Ministry representatives are expected in Gorazde. Meanwhile, barricades have been erected by both Serbs and Muslims.

Barricade Erected; Gunfire Reported

LD2203235992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2239 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Gorazde, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—Gorzade (eastern Bosnia) has sunk into darkness and fear following gunfire from the periphery of the town this evening by unidentified groups and the erection of new barricades by both Serbs and Muslims. According to unofficial reports several people were hurt in the gunfire. Later this evening sporadic fire from automatic weapons was also heard. People are guarding their homes and armed militia patrols can be seen in the streets. It has been unofficially learned that early this evening three Yugoslav People's Army soldiers were captured at a barricade set up by citizens of Muslim nationality on the approach road from Foca. They were later discovered safe with a Serbian family. There is no indication as to what has happened to a vehicle in which the soldiers were travelling from Foca to Visegrad. An automatic rifle and a certain amount of ammunition were in the vehicle.

Serbs Said To Take Over TV Transmitter

LD2303095892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0755 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Gorazde, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Fierce fire was heard on the outskirts of Gorazde and the nearby hills this morning at about 0530. [passage omitted] Fire was especially strong in the suburb of Bacac and on a newly-built bridge over the River Drina. So far it is not known whether there are any casualties. Snipers have appeared on some buildings. According to early morning reports on Radio Sarajevo, a special unit of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry for Internal Affairs and a Yugoslav People's Army unit are on their way to Gorazde to assist the local police force, which obviously no longer controls the situation. [passage omitted] A TANJUG reporter has learned from unofficial sources that Serbs have taken over a television transmitter on Trovrh hilltop, about 10 kms from Gorazde. Last night, a group of Muslim extremists calling themselves "green berets" were caught distributing pamphlets warning Serbs "to pay attention to their behavior while there is still time."

Neum 'Defense Forces' Under Artillery Fire

LD2203171192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Report by Marinko Cavar from Hercegovina]

[Excerpt] It is extremely tense in Hercegovina today, particularly at its southernmost point, Neum. Since 0400 [0300 GMT] this morning, Neum defense forces have been under fierce artillery attacks, and there have been attempts this morning to carry out an infantry attack on

the northeastern parts of the municipality. So far, all kinds of artillery weapons, including multiple rocket launchers, have been used.

The fiercest battles are being waged on the Gola Brda plateau between the municipality of Ljubinje and Neum where villagers, predominantly Croats and Muslims, fled this morning. From the villages of Bancici and Popovo Polje, Chetnik strongholds, more than 500 shells have been fired since this morning. The hamlet of Podkula in Gornji Hrast on the border of Neum municipality has been almost completely devastated.

The Neum defense forces have been returning fierce fire and so far not a single strategic position has been lost, nor has any fighter sustained injuries, while the Chetniks suffered large losses and some of them, including some Serbs from Neum, have been captured.

Refugees are still pouring into Stolac, and eastern Hercegovina roads are extremely busy. Those are mostly army vehicles traveling from Trebinje and Bileca toward Ljubinje bringing in fresh forces and war machinery. [passage omitted]

Appeal Sent to Bosnia Government

AU2203204492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Milan Vego report]

[Excerpt] The hamlets of Podkula, Banija, and Rabrani in the region of Hrasno, the northeast part of the Neum Commune, have been exposed to a real war clash yesterday and today.

After yesterday's pounding by the grenades launched from the Army positions, the residents of Podkula and Banija, some 10 Croat and Muslim families, in the course of last night withdrew to nearby Rabrani. However, Rabrani, too, was subjected to real shelling by mortar and cannon grenades today. The Neum Crisis Headquarters stresses that the Army has also been using the multi-barrel rocket launchers.

By the time of this report, and it is 1845 now, there is still no official report from the field on any dead or wounded, although it is feared that there were such cases on both sides. It is anticipated that several houses in the aforementioned hamlets were also affected [by the shelling]. An appeal was sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Government, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and to the party leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to do everything in their power to stop this conflict, to avoid its further escalation. [passage omitted]

Croats, Muslims Flee to Stolac

AU2203210092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Ivo Ragusa reprot]

[Text] As has already been reported on several occasions, there is again no peace in the southernmost part of Stolac Commune and in the Hrasno and Neum regions. The explosions in this region have been heard throughout the entire day and in early evening hours. The missiles launched by the Army from Bancici, were mostly directed at Hrasno, but some of them also fell on the territory of Stolac Commune, luckily outside the settled areas.

With the dusk [words indistinct] a river of refugees was pouring out, carrying only the most essential things and seeking shelter with relatives and acquaintances in this town. Carrying only the bare essentials, the refugees are telling how they managed to escape the claws of death, while the sky above Hrasno is being torn apart by blazing fire and missiles that are falling on it.

Bearing in mind the seriousness of the situation and the proximity of the village on which the missiles have been launched, Stolac is relatively lively this evening. There are plenty of people strolling in the streets and young people in the cafes. However, a river of refugees, mostly Croats and Muslims, who are arriving in Stolac in great numbers and who could be helped more than they have been, are the most convincing proof that a true war is being waged in the south of the republic, with all its tragic horrors and consequences.

Army Claims 'All-Out' Croatian Attack

LD2303000892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2301 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, March 22 (TANJUG)—The attack of Croatian forces on the village Hrasno in south of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH) forced the Serbs from the surrounding villages to flee their homes, the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Bosnia-Hercegovina announced on Sunday night.

The Yugoslav Army second operative group for Hercegovina announced on Sunday night that the Croatian armed formations launched on Sunday morning an all-out attack from the territory of the municipality of Neum (Bosnia-Hercegovina) on the Yugoslav Army positions in the neighboring municipality of Ljubinje. The Yugoslav Army, as set out, was forced to respond strongly.

An SDS announcement cited that members of paramilitary formations of the Croatian Defense Alliance (HOS), the military wing of the pro-fascist Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), kidnapped and removed to an unknown destination villager Vlado Zarkovic, a Serb, while wounding another.

The Croatian forces, the announcement said, used artillery to attack the village of Cavas in the neighboring Trebinje municipality and the positions of the Yugoslav Army, which returned fire. Neum is a border town

between the regions of eastern Hercegovina, predominantly populated by Serbs and western Hercegovina, where Croats make up the majority population. In western Hercegovina, all power and control was in the hands of the HOS with some 30,000 members. According to the Yugosalav Army reports, a larger number of Croatian peramilitary formations were concentrated in the area of Neum. The Neum crisis staff said the municipality's services, as well as the E.C. monitors from Mostar, cannot reach the area of the clashes due to heavy fire. The staff sent an appeal on Sunday night to the Presidency, government, Interior Ministry and the party leaders of the BIH to prevent escalation of the conflict.

Agreement Between Factions in Bosanski Brod

LD2203201692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Report by Vladimir Fajgl]

[Text] Judging by the results of negotiations held under the auspices of EC monitors and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs between representatives of the warring sides, i.e. the crisis headquarters for the Bosanski Brod defense, the so-called Serbian municipality of Bosanski Brod, and leaders of the three ruling political parties in the municipality, which ended this evening, it seems, although it is too early to forecast, that the grossly disrupted peace might soon return to this part of Bosnian Posavlje. Although the participants had planned only to examine the possibility of reestablishing the functioning of police throughout the municipality of Bosanski Brod, the negotiations achieved what the greatest optimists could not have expected:

First, the crisis headquarters of the warring sides took on an obligation to observe a previously signed cease-fire agreement, maintain peace, refrain from any kind of provocations, and remove barricades from all roads in the municipality to achieve a normal flow of people and goods.

It was also agreed that police functions should be reestablished in the whole municipality in accordance with the organization of a public security station. The Bosanski Brod police will start implementing the new organizational plan as soon as the crisis headquarters of the so-called Serbian municipality of Bosanski Brod and the crisis headquarters of the Bosanski Brod defense withdraw all armed forces under their control from all roads, streets, squares, and facilities in the municipality.

The implementation of these decisions will be overseen by a specially established commission, to include three members of both crisis headquarters and the EC monitors. Regardless of the agreement it is believed that both sides will demobilize their units, and disarm and withdraw all formations, which will enable the police station to function normally.

Interior Minister Accused of Illegal Arms Purchase

LD2203211192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—Minister of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Delimustafic may have been the chief organizer of an illegal purchase of arms intended for Moslem paramilitary formations in this Yugoslav republic, writes Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today. The daily quotes a source close to the ministry as saying that fifteen truckloads of arms were smuggled, under "Delimustafic's patronage," from the Yugoslav secessionist Republic of Croatia into Bosnia-Hercegovina early March. The paper adds that the bulk of the smuggled arms went to Sarajevo while some (7.62 mm submachine guns and ammunition) were left in the village of Korace outside Bosanski Brod near Croatian border.

Next the paper asserts that Delimustafic was in the village of Korace at that time and that the trucks with arms were escorted by Bosnian-Hercegovinian police vehicles. Delimustafic, said the paper, had purchased the arms through Resad Mujkic from Slavonski Brod, the border town in Croatia. It was through him, the paper added, that still earlier Moslems and Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina had been sent out for training in Croatia, and the same trainees appeared in Bosanski Brod some ten days earlier or right before the outbreak of armed conflicts in this town's district.

Disarming Paramilitary Groups 'Not Yet in Sight'

LD2103201692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0654 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—A long awaited and long-ago announced disarming of paramilitary (irregular) formations in the multinational Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (central Yugoslavia) is not yet in sight, but tensions among Muslims, Serbs, and Croats have reached a worrying level early this month.

The language of arms is still being spoken in Bosnia-Hercegovina, viewed by many as the key-area to solve the crisis in Yugoslavia, despite negotiations going on among the three national parties: of the Muslims (the Democratic Action Party—SDA), of the Serbs (the Serbian Democratic Party—SDS), and of the Croats (the Croatian Democratic Union Party—HDZ) under the U.N. auspices.

While the political leaders of the 43.77 per cent made up of the Muslims, the 31.46 per cent of the Serbs and the 17.34 per cent of the Croats tailor their ethnic, economic and geographical maps of "a three-part state-to-be," the Yugoslav People's Army cautions that some 100,000 people in this republic are under arms in various paramilitary party-directed formations. The 2nd Army Region Command based in the city of Sarajevo, central Yugoslavia, warns that, after the withdrawal of Yugoslav

People's Army units from the seceding republic of Slovenia and, partially, from the also seceding Republic of Croatia, attention should go to the joint strength of these "party armies" being close to the Yugoslav People's Army overall strength. Towards the end of the 80s the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) of some 130,000 men and officers in uniform was estimated as one of Europe's strongest armies.

The said military command also cautioned the general public that Bosnia-Hercegovina's party-influenced military formations enjoy support from the authorities in the ethnic territories they are in. Also given was a precise survey having it that in the Muslim paramilitary units called the Patriotic League and the Green Berets to be found are some 60,000 men and officers, then in the Serb White Eagles about 30,000, and in Croatia's both National Guard (ZNG) and the Croatian Defense Union (HOS) about 15,000 armed men together.

Towards the end of last year, at the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina the republic's authorities and the army reached an agreement on principle on disarming the paramilitary formations in their republic. Bosnia-Hercegovina's political circles have not started such a practical action, however, to date and talks by the political leaders of the three constitutive peoples to find out a solution acceptable to all for Bosnia-Hercegovina's future state and legal order still go in the shadow of the threatening arms.

The international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina under the E.C. wing adopted in Sarajevo Wednesday this week principles for new solutions defining Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state made up of three constitutive units based on national principles while appreciating economic, geographical and other criteria. Practically, this means that the growing power of the local authorities relative to the central republican authorities. It is just by reason of this that the question is also being posed whether the said authorities will have will, political authority and means enough to disarm their own people. The reply to this question is all the more uncertain because the same authorities have claimed so far that their peoples have displayed "a high degree of self-organizedness" in promoting their national and other interests. The only one way out is thought of as lying in compromise solutions to follow.

Parties React to Future Sarajevo Agreement

LD2003225992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The accord of the three ethnic parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the republic's future, as a state comprising three constituent parts under the ethnic principle, has met with various reactions by parties and associations in Yugoslavia.

The Banja Luka regional board of the Serbian Democratic Party sees the accord as a basis for further negotiations between Serbs, Croats and Muslims about the demarcation of the three constituent units, three states—Serbian, Moslem and Croatian—in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The board told a news conference that "Serbs in Bosanska Krajina (a region in Bosnia-Hercegovina inhabited mainly by Serbs) will demand their own Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina at the forthcoming negotiations, where they would have their government, army, police and monetary system."

The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) from Croatia, the ruling party in the neighbouring breakaway Yugoslav republic, is satisfied with the accord and believes its adoption had warded off a war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, Croatian intellectuals from the town of Banja Luka, Bosnia-Hercegovina, are dissatisfied since a self-proclaimed delegation of HDZ accepted the regionalization which will leave two-thirds of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina outside their national region and become a national minority in other ethnic regions.

The executive council of the Yugoslav Democratic Party (JDS) from Banja Luka has called on the Assembly of Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina to call an urgent session and cancel the Sarajevo accord since it envisages "the expulsion of Serbs and Yugoslavs in Bosnia-Hercegovina from their homeland and motherland of Yugoslavia." JDS underscored no one had the right to annul the results of last year's plebiscite of Serbs and Yugoslavs from Bosnia-Hercegovina at which, as it claims, over 1.4 million people voted to live in a state of Yugoslavia.

The Socialist Democratic Party from Bosnia-Hercegovina said it would step up parliamentary activities to ask the people about their opinion on the forming of a transitional government, the disarming of all paramilitary formations and the calling of early elections for a constituent assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic: 'Good Basis' for Talks

AU2003214492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The latest meeting on Bosnia-Hercegovina made progress at the last minute. This was stated by Dr. Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party] at a news conference given today by the Serbian Democratic Party. He commented that Bosnia-Hercegovina has not functioned as a state for a long time because its state mechanism was destroyed in the assembly by the behavior of the largest party. Karadzic said that the present agreement on the future of our republic showed that a third of the road has been passed and the document that was adopted is a good basis for further talks, which was also the conclusion of yesterday's Serbian Assembly.

The Serbian Democratic Party thinks that the announced referendum is the right response to what has been done in the negotiations so far, and this party

makes holding the referendum conditional on the reorganization of the public enterprise of Sarajevo Radio and Television as the main republican public information medium.

On the latest affair where there have been attempts to bring down some cadres in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Karadzic stressed that this is only confirmation that this ministry is not functioning. He said that the Serbian Democratic Party is considering withdrawing Serbian cadres and setting up a militia of the Serbian constitutive unit which will be set up according to the parity system, like the other organs under this unit's jurisdiction.

Muslim Leader on Izetbegovic's 'Historic Mistake'

92BA0650A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 92 pp 18-20

[Interview with Muhamed Filipovic, Muslim Bosnian Organization vice chairman, by Fahrudin Radoncic; place and date not given: "Izetbegovic's Historic Mistake"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] The Lisbon Accord between the three national leaders is a direct preface to the disintegration of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, contends the well-known intellectual and opposition politician, who also discusses ignoramuses in the government, the so-called "historic agreement" and motley policy, the secret SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and SDA [Party of Democratic Action] document on the regionalization of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], and the arbitrating Croatian position.

If anyone in B-H is considered a politician with a lucid and sharp tongue and a vehement critic of the current government, then it is Prof. Dr. Muhamed Filipovic. We talk with him about the controversial Lisbon Accord. At the very outset, academician Filipovic displays to the DANAS journalist his dissatisfaction with the "wind in the sails of the SDA." He then shows the fragments left over from when the door to his office was broken down. He says that this is the second time that the headquarters of the MBO [Muslim Bosnian Organization] has been broken into. After the first such visit, he personally found the listening devices that had been planted. To make everything worse and provide more reasons for his suspicion of the KOS [Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service], even his office at the School of Philosophy in Sarajevo has been broken into. Nevertheless, the epitome of all this is the fact that they broke into the party office of the MBO in the well-guarded republican parliament building. We begin our interview with the uncompromising opponent of Alija Izetbegovic by inquiring about reasons for the unusually strong statement by the MBO concerning the agreement between the leaders of the three national parties in Lisbon. The man who, following the failure of the Serb-Muslim "historic agreement," was himself sharply challenged, responds to this intriguing and extremely topical question.

[Filipovic] In order to understand the essence of our dissatisfaction, one must know that we—the Muslim Bosnian Organization—are the only political party in B-H that since its founding has struggled for and permanently advocated a "sovereign B-H, on equal footing with all other countries." We have not undergone any sort of evolution in this position, as with some other parties, such as the SDA, which first advocated a federation, and B-H as a republic within that federation, only now arriving at a stance supporting independence and state sovereignty. Thus, from the very start we have had a principled approach: Every action that is carried out to strengthen sovereignty—and this includes territorial integrity and the exercise of complete authority throughout the entire territory of the state—is unacceptable to us. If you looked at this Lisbon document, you saw that it provides for the creation of national states on the soil of B-H. Through instruments of complete authority, state authority, individual parts of B-H are transformed into pure, ethnic, national states, in which all inhabitants of other nationalities will be national minorities. Based on difficult experiences in the past, that will be reason enough for new migrations out of those regions. In my estimation, a document such as this is a preface to the disintegration of the state of B-H.

[Radoncic] Can you tell us the crucial reason behind such a prognosis?

[Filipovic] It is stupid to suppose that the creation of a Croatian national substate with such authorities could end up doing anything other than exercising its option for annexation to Croatia. Or, on the other hand, that the creation of Serbian national states with the same authorities on the soil of B-H could end any other way than by such states joining Serbia. That is why we are against the accord in Lisbon.

[Radoncic] You subscribe to the theory that ethnic cantons will only wait for some major world or domestic crisis in order to, sooner or later, join Croatia or Serbia?

[Filipovic] That is normal. This is only part of the tactics, one stage of the plan to totally desubstantivize B-H, which is the ultimate goal of Croatian and Serbian national policy towards B-H. The ignoramuses who are currently directing B-H policy are not considering the fact that this desubstantivization is one of the basic political points from the viewpoint of both the Serbian and the Croatian national movements. Specifically, they have never wanted to allow Bosnia to have its own Bosnian nation, which is a historic nation, and for it to be constituted as a state, because in this way Bosnia is left as an empty, open area. And all this is in the context of resolving the Eastern question. This means the liquidation of Ottoman power in the Balkans. Besides Sandzak, the B-H area was the last enclave of Ottoman power, and now it is to be divided among two, or three, national states. That process began at the end of the last century, and is continuing even today. Right now, it is ending with prospects that it will even succeed in B-H. In

this case, it is one of history's ironies that the success of such policy is being partially ensured by a Muslim party.

[Radoncic] Do you think that Muslims feel that it would be better for the concept of Bosnianhood to be accepted, or rather that the negotiators have been bourgeois politicians, and not leaders who intentionally hold out under alleged Islamic-religious baggage?

[Filipovic] Absolutely. First, that would obligate all political parties to formulate a Bosnian program. Second, the national tridominium as a constitutive factor of power would be excluded, the logic of which implies by necessity the partition of B-H as well. Divide the voters, divide power, and then look for territory for the complete realization of that power. In this case, I think that this would not be possible and that a majority of the citizens would not support this option. Because if there is anything that there is too much of in B-H, it is national exclusivism.

[Radoncic] According to some information, European political leaders destabilized Izetbegovic's position in Lisbon in terms of how the SDA electoral program was presented to him. As if they wanted to say that they do not believe in that party's bourgeois option?

[Filipovic] It is true that an electoral document, or SDA platform, was presented to Izetbegovic in which there is not a word concerning what is happening right now. Also presented was the allegation that there is an SDS and SDA document concerning recognition for regionalization. Alija Izetbegovic denied the existence of such a document, but it was produced by the Serbian side, and the European and U.S. negotiators gave serious consideration to it. This is a logical consequence, because one cannot pursue a motley policy—now this, now that—engage in tactics, and in the end emerge from the entire situation unscathed. Alija Izetbegovic is now feeling the repercussions of his inconsistent policy. A policy that is pursued like a series of successive tactical moves always ends up being wrong.

[Radoncic] When you critically define the so-called motley policy, could I not ask you whether that term could also be applied to the attempt to effect a Muslim-Serbian "historic agreement," which the MBO tried to do with Milosevic?

[Filipovic] No, and I will provide you with very precise arguments about why this is so. In July of last year we were in this de facto situation of a partition of B-H. The basic idea was to prevent this from happening. We saw no other way than to talk openly with the Serbs. Not to try to trick them, but rather to come face to face with them. My personal conviction is that the mistake of Alija's policy is that he is continuously making attempts, scheming, and equivocating in an effort to bypass the Serbs. We did not want to do this, and we openly told the Serbs: For us Bosnian Muslims, a partition of Bosnia is out of the question, and anyone who divides Bosnia will have to wage war with us sooner or later. In the event of a partition of B-H, we cannot survive, our Muslim nation will be ruined; that is the exact conclusion that can be drawn. Then we told them to tell us what they—the Serbs—are primarily interested in and what their main political goal is, so that we could see where we might meet.

[Radoncic] And what did they say in response?

[Filipovic] They were precise—they said that their main goal is to see to it that B-H not be removed from Yugoslavia. To that we said that to us the most important thing is that B-H remain integral and that, as a state, it be on equal footing with Serbia and Croatia. They asked whether we could base an agreement on this. We responded that we could, and each side offered its variant for the agreement. However, Alija Izetbegovic heard about all this, approved of our project, and then, at the advice of Mr. Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, he rejected the agreement over night. He did not reject the Serbian proposal because it was reasonable to reject it—this was a negotiating process, and we certainly would have rejected their proposal, because it was contrary to ours—but rather, he rejected the very idea of an agreement between Serbs and Muslims. And that sort of agreement is the basis for any peace in B-H. The policy that puts Croats in a position of arbitrating our situation has now backfired on Izetbegovic.

[Radoncic] Some people believe that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], at the most inconvenient moment, chose a questionable approach and solution. It seems that the Muslims are not indifferent to this?

[Filipovic] They played their card at the last minute. From the first moment it had to be clear that any national party, by logic of its national interest as the supreme political criterion, would play its own card. It is an illusion, as well as political amateurism, for anyone, and thus Izetbegovic as well, to expect anything different.

[Radoncic] A little while back you said that a partition of B-H means war. Could Izetbegovic's agreement in Lisbon be a consequence of the realization that the Muslims cannot wage war against two nations?

[Filipovic] The logic of relations is such that in the event of a conflagration, the Muslims certainly would not be fighting two nations. Here's why: We must not forget that the Muslims are the main adversaries for neither the Serbs nor the Croats. Accordingly, the Muslims will always have either the Serbs or the Croats as their allies. This must be kept in mind in strategic projections as well, if it is even possible to suppose that there will be war.

[Radoncic] This theory could be problematic if, say, Serbia and Croatia agree to partition B-H?

[Filipovic] That is the danger that is present right now. It is obvious that the Serbo-Croatian conflict cannot be resolved on Croatian soil, nor on Serbian soil. It is evident that if national-expansionist plans persist, then

they will be shifted to B-H. Not only in order to acquire something there, but also to put an end to the Serbo-Croatian conflict. However, I believe that the matter will be radically changed on the global level. Europe and the world are not interested in war in this region. Thus, they are sending in the blue helmets, which not coincidentally are stationed in B-H. They think that this could be a new focus of tension, and that is why the headquarters of the UN forces is in B-H, of all places. Moreover, the U.S. Sixth Fleet is also sailing to the Adriatic as direct logistical and operational support for the international forces, in order to prevent violations of the cease-fire. I am here to tell you that the situation is completely different, strategically speaking.

[Radoncic] Since one hopes for no more war, one is left with negotiations and concessions. If there are Muslims who think that it is precisely they who are the losers in the Lisbon talks, then is it possible to say that the Serbs and Croats have won?

[Filipovic] They have won nothing. No one can win, and that is pure illusion. Through this agreement, elements will be implemented in international relations that will continuously induce conflict. All political energy will be focused on eliminating others, so that in this way everyone loses. Objectively speaking, the Croats could ultimately gain and keep five or six opstinas in western Hercegovina based on ethnicity. They cannot keep Kresevo, just as the Muslims cannot keep an opstina that is, so to speak, isolated in a Serbian sea. The same is true of the Serbs.

[Radoncic] Is it not one of the mistakes by the B-H state leadership that it has not, so to speak, educated international political factors and diplomatic circles about B-H's territorial continuity by citing historical facts?

[Filipovic] That is certainly a mistake. I have said several times that Mr. Izetbegovic has his own private minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Haris Silajdzic, who has not explained his policy or the essence of his diplomatic activities to the B-H Assembly even once. In addition, not understanding that the essence of solving the Bosnian problem in Europe lies in resolving matters in the West, they have worn themselves out by pursuing their policy in the East. Strategically, this is an unforgivable mistake. Now that they have intensified their activities towards the West, it is already yielding results. But a whole year was lost unnecessarily. They could have involved our renowned scholars and influential people all over Europe and elsewhere in the same way that the Slovenes, as well as Mr. Tudjman, did. They could have shaped opinion about Bosnia-Hercegovina, but everything was subordinated to personal promotion and a single person's monopoly.

[Radoncic] When you criticize Silajdzic, you seem to be moving closer to the SDS position, which also objects to the minister of foreign affairs.

[Filipovic] No, I am not arriving at the SDS position. I am only looking at principles for conducting a state's foreign policy. As a deputy to the Assembly, I want to know how foreign policy is being conducted, according to what principles and with what methods. If our minister has said nothing, explained nothing to the Assembly for a whole year, and if I, as a deputy, am not in a position to propose anything, then it is nothing but a platitude to contend that I hold SDS positions. One could say the opposite: The SDS shares the position of the MBO and of all other parties that are dissatisfied with the way in which foreign affairs are being conducted.

[Radoncic] When we talk about the Serbian Democratic Party, it seems that Europe is inclined to give in to extremism and maximalism?

[Filipovic] It does indeed seem that through this latest document on B-H, Europe has rewarded a failed policy, the entirety of which is represented by Milosevic. Having refuted his policy—and it has failed, because it obviously cannot be realized in its original version—Europe is encountering attempts to preserve these same options through Karadzic or Babic. Epigones are being inserted into the game who pursue the same Milosevician policy. But they are being rewarded in order to isolate Milosevic and fence him off in the political sphere. Simply put, they hope that he will be overthrown by opposition activity, although I clearly do not believe that that will happen.

[Radoncic] Although his positions on the eve of 9 March are seriously undermined, Milosevic will count as his successes the acquisition of Montenegro and the alleged saving of Serbian territory in B-H, and it is certain that he will also treat the occupied territory in Croatia as a territorial gain. If things are regarded in this way, then Europe clearly has not succeeded in subduing him.

[Filipovic] One must recognize that Europe has priorities. The first is peace. If it thinks that some factor or situation could cause new complications, then Europe is ready to make concessions. And the fact that it is making concessions at our expense is due to the imprecision of our policy. Thus, not because Milosevic's or Karadzic's policy is out there, but rather because our policy is not. From the very beginning I have been in favor of our pursuing a dynamic and active policy. Not our waiting for relations to be established, so that we can enter into them with an eye to where things would work out better for us.

[Radoncic] Have you presented concrete initiatives and proposals to people in the current government?

[Filipovic] Back in April of last year, I proposed to Mr. Izetbegovic that B-H conclude an agreement on confederation with Slovenia and Croatia. Simply and unilaterally! Those three states could come forward as common partners in talks with Milosevic. In that way, the situation would be reversed. At the time, Europe and the world were advocating the survival of Yugoslavia, and we would have deprived Milosevic of the argument that he is the ostensible guardian of Yugoslavia. On the other

hand, this would have created the basic conditions for strengthening the state and its functions in order to achieve full sovereignty. What is useful to us is anyone's state recognition of Bosnian sovereignty, if there are to be states in it—Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim.

[Radoncic] Since you unquestionably enjoy the status of an influential Muslim intellectual and opposition politician, did you also suggest anything to the B-H president on the eve of the Lisbon session?

[Filipovic] Before he went there, I told Mr. Izetbegovic, "Alija, please, the one issue on which you cannot give in is the integrity of B-H and the inviolability of its borders." For example, Mr. Lasic acted like an apostle here; as soon as he arrived from Lisbon, he said euphorically that the borders will not be altered. What do I care if Lasic guarantees this—when will Bush guarantee it? These are demagogic tricks. I warned Izetbegovic about where he should not yield. One can acknowledge the relevance of certain interests, Croatian and Serbian, but projected on B-H relations with Serbia and Croatia. As I said, I would go in for B-H entering into a confederation with Serbia and Croatia, because such a confederation would not affect B-H's sovereignty and subjectivity under international law. Serbia and Croatia do not have to enter into a reciprocal confederal relationship, nor into any relationship, but they can do so with us because of the specific situation in B-H. We can have agreements with specific states or with a state, but we cannot have states within the state.

[Radoncic] Do you think that this is the end of it all?

[Filipovic] I am certain that the Bosnians will not agree to this and that there will be a very stormy reaction. It will probably be linked to the overall socioeconomic situation. You can conclude any agreement that you want, but it must be ratified in the Assembly.

[Radoncic] Since the national parties hold a clear majority in the republican parliament, this becomes a question of pure technique?

[Filipovic] Yes, but if a new state and new constitution are created, then new elections must be held. They are an unavoidable consequence. Regardless of the outcome of the referendum. The person here who does not want elections will be confronted with major dissatisfaction.

[Radoncic] The referendum issue is all the more interesting since the favorable result, in the sense of citizens expressing their support for an independent B-H, reportedly gives Izetbegovic room for a sort of makeup exam?

[Filipovic] Personally, I would like to see him use this to dodge the obligations from Lisbon. In that regard, he would have my support. But if Izetbegovic thinks that it is possible to play games with his partners Karadzic and Boban, then he certainly cannot do so with Europe. Because if he has accepted a political agreement before the Europeans, then the referendum will be of little help to him in pulling out of a situation that he personally sponsored.

[Radoncic] What sort of scenario do you offer for getting B-H out of the current mess, and where do you see a solution that is good enough for everyone?

[Filipovic] I was in favor of holding a conference with all relevant political forces and establishing certain assumptions for holding it. First, that everyone declare that we are for establishing a democratic, bourgeois rule-of-law state. The second important assumption is that we agree that Bosnia-Hercegovina must be a sovereign and independent state on equal footing with others. And third, that B-H come forward with a positive program for establishing specific ties with states with which it has special historic and ethnic ties. This means with Serbia and Croatia. I do not include Montenegro here until it pays reparations. Consequently, we in the MBO have proposed our program, with six or seven points, and the essence of it is this: B-H needs an agreement, but not one that would fail the political and historic test. We are in favor of a coalition that would be based on political positions, and not on national ideals.

General Aksentijevic on Army's Role in Bosnia

92BA0646A Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 18 Feb 92 pp 22-24

[Interview with General Aksentijevic by Ervin Hladnik-Milharcic and Ivo Standeker; place and date not given: "I Was the First Barracks Attacked!"—first paragraph is MLADINA introduction]

[Excerpts] What has happened to our Aksentijevic?

General Aksentijevic has been condemned to spend his whole life moving to Yugoslavia. With all of the confusion in connection with his role in the Balkan wars, one thing is clear: Where the general is, there is Yugoslavia. It is also true that the general is a sort of strange harbinger of disaster for Yugoslavia. Before a year passes, there is no more Yugoslavia around him. The general packs his suitcases and already moves again—to Yugoslavia, where else? With his moves from Ljubljana to Zagreb and from there to Sarajevo, he has become an allegory for the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. As soon as he announces that he has come to keep the peace, a war starts. The interethnic disputes that are more symbolic in nature before his mediation turn into a general brawl in which people strike at everything in reach.

General Aksentijevic is now in Sarajevo, in the same job as he had in Zagreb. He has converted his general line in Zagreb, that "The JLA will not allow what happened to it in Slovenia to happen to it in Croatia," to the firm position that "The JLA will not allow what happened to it in Slovenia and Croatia to happen to it in Bosnia." Along the way, he has become a defensive Serbian nationalist. Together with all of the Army's ironware, he

is defending the same defenseless people that welcomed the Army with open arms. [passage omitted]

[MLADINA] Do you grant ZNG [National Guard Corps] officers the status of prisoners of war?

[Aksentijevic] They receive appropriate treatment.

[MLADINA] Do you observe the Geneva Convention in dealing with them?

[Aksentijevic] At Manjaca we had a camp that was completely military. They all slept together, and there were guards on the outside. It was not like that everywhere, since in some places it was said that these were paramilitary units that were not protected by the Convention. My position has always been that this is war and that one should follow the rules in dealing with prisoners of war. Actually, they have been treated differently. In some places they have been treated as prisoners, elsewhere they have been treated as convicts, and in yet other places they have been beaten and mistreated. I myself was imprisoned in isolation for the first 46 days, I was guarded by two guards who took turns relieving each other, and Croatian radio was played for me over the loudspeakers so loudly that it could not have been any louder.

[MLADINA] No one ever predicted the war. Is it now over, as far as the JLA is concerned?

[Aksentijevic] It is a ceasefire, and we have signed a truce. The JLA is doing everything within its power not to violate the truce itself. If the hotlines between the two sides are kept and if the UN representatives provide answers to certain questions, everything has been prepared on our side for the blue helmets' arrival. All the conditions have been fulfilled.

[MLADINA] One of the conditions is that the JLA withdraw from Croatian territory. Will you do that?

[Aksentijevic] We will fulfill all the conditions.

[MLADINA] How will your cooperation with the blue helmets proceed?

[Aksentijevic] Since the JLA has been cooperating in blue helmet operations for all these years and we are familiar with the rules, there will not be any difficulty in cooperating on a professional basis. They will separate the two peoples that are at war.

[MLADINA] Wasn't the original idea that the JLA would do that? Do you admit that you have not done it?

[Aksentijevic] We are performing that function until the arrival of the blue helmets. If the other side and the international community were willing to accept the JLA as a factor in separating the opposing sides, we would continue to do so. Tudjman wanted the war, the international community assisted him in it, Germany played its own role, and the situation is as it is. The JLA is still doing this job. If it were not for us, the situation would be much worse. Talk to people. They are afraid. They are wondering what will happen if the United Nations will not be able to protect them. The JLA has protected them against genocide by the other people.

[MLADINA] Are you convinced that you are doing it?

[Aksentijevic] I am. We have protected them against genocide by the other people.

[MLADINA] At the cost of shooting at the Croats.

[Aksentijevic] At the cost of shooting at everyone who was shooting at us, everyone and always. I said that in Croatia, and I am saying it here.

[MLADINA] What are you doing in Bosnia?

[Aksentijevic] The JLA's role in Bosnia is to keep the peace and prevent the worst in a way that is acceptable to people. Here we are even acceptable to the Croats. Twenty kilometers from the border they are killing each other, but in Bosnia the Serbs and Croats are living together. There is a threshold that neither side is crossing. To be sure, western Hercegovina has already made preparations to secede from Bosnia de facto and de jure.

[MLADINA] Will the JLA allow that, or will there also be a war here?

[Aksentijevic] It will have to be allowed. A process of cantonization, with which Serbs and Croats agree, has begun in Bosnia. The Muslims are now considering this agreement. All three national parties agree that they have to solve the problem without war. They are all striving to calm the antiarmy aspirations and to reduce the tension. They are doing everything possible to prevent the worst, and to avoid war. The law on the establishment of a Bosnian army has been put on ice, and they consented to an international conference on Bosnia before a referendum on independence. This indicates political wisdom which wants to avoid war.

[MLADINA] Yes, but the problem is the JLA. Bosnia is its last refuge. You do not have anywhere to go from here.

[Aksentijevic] Does that mean that the Army should be driven out of Bosnia? No! A people that has the JLA as its own army lives in Bosnia....

[MLADINA] That does not apply to the Croats in Hercegovina and does not apply...

[Aksentijevic] A people lives here that accepts the JLA as its own army, and it is one of the constituent peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina. That was not the case in Slovenia, and it was the case in Croatia only in certain regions. Where the population in Croatia accepted the Army, it remained. Everyone must be aware of that. Certain political representatives of the other peoples, of course, are trying to portray us as a foreign army.

[MLADINA] After the referendum, will you recognize the legal Bosnian authorities?

[Aksentijevic] We always recognize the legal authorities. Nevertheless, you must consider that one people in Bosnia has already taken a stand in favor of Yugoslavia and thus the JLA as well. This people has also stated that it supports a referendum, but a referendum on Bosnia in Yugoslavia. One people, which is equal with the other peoples in Bosnia, has already stated its opinion. It wants to remain in Yugoslavia. How will you solve this? The Croats and the Serbs are now jointly preparing a cantonization plan.

[MLADINA] Isn't it true that this is no longer a question of a Yugoslavia that needs an army, but rather of a JLA that is seeking a state? Without Bosnia, that state would be too small. Isn't it true that the JLA needs Bosnia in Yugoslavia in order to be able to survive at all?

[Aksentijevic] That is not true. Yugoslavia still exists as a state, and the nonaligned even recognize it as their leader. The JLA has resisted all the historical temptations and allowed politics, whatever it may be like, to settle the issue of the state organization on its own, by political means. The Army will change in any case in order to be appropriate for this state. Some room will remain, and the Army will adjust to it. We have never said that we would not observe a political agreement, a joint agreement—unilateral decisions are something else. It is not true that the Army needs the state. The people needs the Army. The people must therefore settle the disputed issues politically, as soon as possible. We are being criticized for obeying the rump presidency. Ask the Bosnian presidency whether it can go into all parts of Bosnia. Does the Bosnian presidency have authority over all of Bosnia?

[MLADINA] The Muslims will readily tell you that it is because the Banja Luka corps and the Banja Luka SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] are the same thing.

[Aksentijevic] That is not true—period.

[MLADINA] Now, what you call an antiarmy mood is already appearing in Belgrade.

[Aksentijevic] That is normal. Even in Serbian politics there are people like Draskovic and other extremists who want to see the Army as responsible for everything, just as others have seen it.

[MLADINA] What if Milosevic decides that the generals are to blame for Vukovar and Dubrovnik?

[Aksentijevic] Tudjman has already originated that, and the international public has accepted it. There were 40,000 people living in Vukovar. If the Army were as genocidal as people say, there should have been 20,000 dead in Vukovar. Consider that this was a war without rules, which aroused the basest passions. It is the most difficult for the army that tries to separate...

[MLADINA] You did not separate anyone in Vukovar!

[Aksentijevic] We did separate them as long as we could, and then we were forced into a war against the other army. They did everything possible to have us attack them. It was in Tudjman's interest to have as many casualties as possible, since the world public took his side because of this.

[MLADINA] If it had not been for your heavy artillery, there would have been fewer casualties.

[Aksentijevic] We needed the heavy artillery because of the alliance between Slovenia and Croatia. Hundreds of assortments of equipment from Slovenia went to Croatia. We had to respond. We never killed intentionally, however. We mostly aimed at installations in order to show the opposing side: If you do not stop, we will destroy this for you. And so on, and so on.

[MLADINA] You always said that you were preventing disputes. Wherever the Army appears, however, a great deal of shooting begins. Now you say that you are preventing disputes in Bosnia. What, specifically, are you doing to keep war from breaking out in Bosnia?

[Aksentijevic] If I told you what we are doing I would be giving the side that wants war an opportunity to prepare. No one will tell you what we are doing. I can only tell you that we will not make the same mistakes that we did in Slovenia and Croatia.

[MLADINA] You stated that the JLA would not leave Bosnia. It will not leave on its own at all, and you will not allow it to be driven out. What are the consequences of this? What if they want to drive you out?

[Aksentijevic] The Maribor and Zagreb scenarios will not be repeated here, although certain individuals are trying to do precisely that. The scenarios that were tested in Slovenia in a single-nationality environment, however, do not work here. Certainly, I wish you the best of luck, but sooner or later people in Slovenia will realize that they were deceived. And then they will hold someone accountable for what was done.

Croatia

Tudjman Orders 20,000 Reservists Demobilized

LD2103151192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] An order signed by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Croatian Army supreme commander, says that 20,000 Croatian Army reservists will be demobilized. A total of 80 percent of these Army conscripts have been demobilized so far. Croatian units which remain mobilized due to the return of those Army conscripts needed to revive the Croatian economy under special circumstances are being replaced, according to the Croatian president's order. This means that a number of army conscripts working in the production process are being replaced while 20,000 army conscripts are begin demobilized. Army conscripts demobilized because of

this change are being replaced by those conscripts who are not needed in the production process.

Tudjman Launches Initiative on Amnesty for Serbs

LD2003193692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received the following members of the amnesty commission: Marija Pejacic Mikuljan, Ivan Aralica, Milo Boras, Djura Perica, Drago Roksandic, Miroslav Sutej, Marko Veselica, and Stjepan Herceg. During the meeting the president presented his initiative for granting amnesty to Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality who have been forcefully mobilized for aggression against Croatia or deceived, but who did not take part in the crimes. Members of the amnesty commission supported the president's initiative to grant amnesty as essential for the peaceful life and legal security of the Serbs who have been drawn into the war against the Republic of Croatia in the above manner, yet who want to remain in this republic. The Croatian Assembly is expected to pass criteria and adopt a final decision.

Separovic Outlines Reasons for Far East Tour

LD2103204892 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] China has not yet recognized us. China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and as such very important for our further and future international position. In view of this, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic set off for China. He made the following statement for HTV prior to his departure:

[Begin Separovic recording] A delegation of the Republic of Croatia is setting off on a long journey—Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Singapore, New Delhi, Abu Dhabi, Tehran. The countries in question are densely-populated China, which is [word indistinct] chance for greater security and we need its support and understanding for obtaining UN membership. Japan, Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong: highly-developed countries of which Japan recognized us. Jakarta, Indonesia, and India: one a leading country of the Nonaligned Movement and one its chairman which we need both because of the United Nations and because of our proposal to receive guest status [as heard] in these countries. Iran, the country which recently recognized us, one of the leading Muslim countries, and Dubayy, one of the UAE states.

What are we going to ask for there? From those who have not yet recognized us to do so, from those who did establish diplomatic relations, from all of them, to establish good bilateral relations—especially with the developed ones because there are great possibilities both for us and for them—in mutual economic, cultural, scientific, sports, and other forms of cooperation.

We are departing in the hope that our journey will yield fruit. Croatia needs rich and highly-developed economic partners. With some we already have good cooperation relations, with some these relations will be either deepened or started anew. [end recording]

Croatia SDA 'Saddened' by Paraga Bosnia Stand

LD2103233692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Statements made in Bonn by Dobroslav Paraga, chairman of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP], about the "unquestionable responsibility of the HSP and HOS (the armed wing of the HSP)" for the preservation of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, shows that he drew no conclusions from the tragic events in Croatia. "The HOS is no guarantee for an independent Bosnia as we envisage it," a statement by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Croatia, says. "We are especially saddened by the HSP leaders desire to deny the existence of the Muslim nation and their demands that this nation rejects its religion for some single-minded interests. Bosnia will defend the Bosnian people, irrespective of their religious and national orientation", the SDA for Croatia stresses.

The party also assesses that the heralded cantonization and division of Bosnia along the national lines is not being met with approval by the Muslim nation in Croatia. It says at the same time that only an independent Bosnia of citizens could guarantee normal life and survival for the Muslim nation in diaspora. It finally adds: "The concept of a Bosnia of three nations is unacceptable for the Muslims in Croatia."

Deputy Premier Explains Budget Expenditures

LD2003124292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Jurica Pavelic announced at the regular weekly government press conference that the republic's budget adopted at the government session last night reflects the possibility of meeting the needs of minimum public expenditures. He added that the beneficiaries of the budget asked for a total of more than 450 billion Croatian dinars, but the government finally accepted the proposed budget, which will amount to 270 billion dinars in Croatia this year. This is approximately 60 percent of the needs or 16 percent of the Croatian social product.

Pavelic also said that experts from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international banks have been in Croatia in the past few days, and, notwithstanding the war damage and the decrease in economic activity, they are satisfied that Croatia is managing its affairs in a stable manner and without inflation and that it is showing extraordinary economic vitality. He also expressed the hope that our republic will

overcome all its economic problems by the beginning of the fall when considerable international financial assistance is expected.

Krajina Solons Criticize Communal Assemblies Law

AU2203142392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Milorad Jovic report]

[Excerpt] A proposal of the law on territorial organization and local government within the republic provoked the greatest polemics. Namely, the government proposed that the Communal Assemblies, where they still exist, be abolished and that all power be transferred to the [communal] Executive Councils. A president of the Executive Council would be appointed by the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and he would then choose eight to 10 members of the Executive Council.

When explaining the proposal, Minister of Justice Vojislav Susa said that this act would remain in force temporarily, until the conditions for holding local elections are created in the whole republic. It would be unacceptable to maintain a legal dualism in the republic on the eve of the implementation of Cyrus Vance's plan and deployment of blue helmets, Susa stressed, so that in some regions the communal assemblies, which were elected according to Croatian laws, would function while in other regions they would only be executive councils, whose legitimacy was confirmed at the Serbian Assembly in [word indistinct].

The very first participant in the debate, Milos Vuckovic from Vojnic, objected that the government's proposal resembles a dictatorship or military government. A majority of other deputies were also of the opinion that it is too dangerous to give power to a small group of people and that this centralization could have negative consequences, as was the case when Milan Babic was head of the government. The majority of participants in the debate also believed that the abolishment of the communal assemblies would take away legitimacy to the republican assembly, as this one consists of the deputies from the aforementioned assemblies.

After the debate that lasted several hours, it was agreed that the government will meet again during the session break and modify the proposal. It will probably be proposed that the existing assemblies continue to function, but that in the newly formed communes and in the communes where the assemblies do not function, the local elections will be held as soon as possible.

The majority of other proposed laws were endorsed without a lengthy debate. The assembly will take a stand on the proposal for the appointment of the minister of foreign affairs. We did not manage to learn who the candidate was. The assembly was also briefed on the content of the federal law that declares the validity of the federal regulations on the territory of the Serbian Krajinas and the decree by which Krajina was proclaimed an underdeveloped republic. [passage omitted]

Krajina Assembly Adopts Administration Laws

AU2203151292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Danko Peric report]

[Excerpt] At their first session in Knin, Serbian Krajina Assembly deputies, after the well known events in Glina and Borovo Selo, adopted a package of 48 laws from the sphere of administration, legislation, and national defense, that have been coordinated with the federal legislation and the amendments to the Krajina Constitution. By doing so, another step was made toward defining Krajina's status in the period during which the peace in its territory will be secured by the UN peace troops. The session ended after seven hours. Krajina deputies endorsed Dobrosav Vejzovic, present assistant to the Serbian foreign minister, as a minister of foreign affairs in the cabinet of Zdravko Zecevic, while they elected Vojin Peruca as Krajina's finance minister. Deputies, on the basis of the changes implemented by the government, adopted the law on territorial organization and local government. [passage omitted]

Krajina To Open Customs Points Along 'Borders'

LD2003141192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1211 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) will open about ten customs points on its borders with Croatia, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today. The Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina—a Serb-populated region within the administrative borders of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia—has decided to open customs points at the Peruca Dam on the Knin-Split road, in Zitnic on the Knin-Sibenik road, in Musapstan near Zadar, in Rovanjska on the Obrovac section of the Adriatic highway, in Medak on the Gracac-Gospic road, in Tusilovic, Plasko, Kostajnica, in the regions of Kordun and Banija. A number of customs points will also be opened in western and eastern Slavonia, the daily writes.

Each of the points will have a post bearing the inscription Yugoslavia, while police outposts will be marked Republic of Serb Krajina. The flags of RSK and Yugoslavia will be flown on Krajina's side of the border, VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes. The Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed on December 19 last year by Serbs in Croatia, who opted at a referendum to remain in Yugoslavia. This practically means that this region will join the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, and possibly some others who might decide to remain in Yugoslavia. The RSK covers predominantly Serb-populated regions in Croatia, whose autonomy is not recognized by the Croatian authorities.

The Serbs are the largest ethnic community in Yugoslavia and—under the Yugoslav Constitution—one of the six constituent nations in the country. However, the new Croatian Constitution, adopted by the authorities which took power in 1990, reduced the status of Serbs in Croatia to that of a national minority.

Paraga Letter to Tudjman on 'Transfer of Power'

92BA0659B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 92 p 3

["Text" of letter by Dobroslav Paraga, chairman of Croatian Rights Party, to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman: ""One-Third of Croatia Is Trackless""—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] "It is not only the Rights Party that is invoking the leader, Dr. Ante Pavelic, because how then do you explain the fact that soldiers on the front are mostly carrying not your picture, but rather that of the leader?"

On Saturday, the head of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP] sent a letter to Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic, stating the following: "First allow me to congratulate you, because you truly delighted us with your assertion before officers of the Croatian Armed Forces that Croatia won the war. If that is the case, Mr. President, then I invite you to come tomorrow and have a cup of coffee in Vukovar and a Beljski Riesling in Beli Manastir. You have broken the cup, Mr. President. In any event, Croatia is not your book *Bespuca* [*The Tracklessness of Historical Reality*]; rather, one-third of Croatia is completely trackless to Croats.

"It came as no surprise to us, Mr. President, when 10 or so days ago, while going out to the Mala Coffee Shop for a cup of coffee, you were surprised by how many people were at Ban Jelacic Square, because we are well aware, Mr. President, that of your 49 advisors not one of them is capable of telling you that Vukovar has fallen. Or dares not tell you?

"You tell the officers, Mr. President, that the war was won by the Croatian nation, guided by the political forces that led the nation out of the one-party communist system through democracy, only to confirm your neocommunist single-mindedness in the next sentence by declaring that the force that led Croatia to 'victory' was the Croatian Democratic Community. Well, you are deceiving yourself, Mr. President, or you are being deceived by your lackeys.

"How could you blurt out the words 'We must be ready,' Mr. President, when because of this slogan you are persecuting the bravest and most honorable Croatian soldiers, the members of the HOS [Croatian Defense Force-military wing of HSP], Mr. President? If you were to deign to go to Starcevic Square and climb up to the second floor, you would see several hundred obituaries of HOS members who perished for Croatia's freedom, and not, as you say, that the HOS has only several hundred members. It would be easy for you to find out how many HOS members are in the Croatian armed forces, unless you are not being told this in order not to upset you. But know this: Croatia will be free once all Croats are HOS members and are 'ready for the homeland' [HOS slogan].

"It was not that long ago, Mr. President, that you euphorically declared that Croatia had been recognized for the first time in its written history. Surely you do not really think, Mr. President, that you are the president of an illiterate or senile people who forget 10 April 1941. No, it is not only the Rights Party that is invoking the Leader, Dr. Ante Pavelic, because how then do you explain the fact that soldiers on the front are mostly carrying not your picture, but rather that of the Leader?

"You say, Mr. President, that we define Croatia as including Sandzak and Backa, while we let it be known to you, Mr. President, that we do not forget Zemun or the Gulf of Kotor either, just as you readily forget Ilok, Vukovar, and Knin, to list only a few. But I remind you, Mr. President, that you in fact won the elections based on that HSP program, didn't you? You still reproach us for the myth that besides the sacred letter 'U,' which is like a hawthorn stake or garlic and a cross against vampires like the Chetniks, our soldiers also wear the sign of the SS.

"But we are here to tell you, Mr. President, that you wear the SS, because you concocted the Sovereign and Independent Croatia, while our only Croatia is the NDH [Nazi-era Independent State of Croatia]. Yes, you call us the ostensible rights party, Mr. President, so that that party, which is not coincidentally also called Croatian, and is not newly composed like yours, ostensibly will not win the elections. See you soon, Mr. President, upon the transfer of power," the letter ended, with the HSP salute, "God and the Croats," and "Ready for the homeland!"

Croatian Team Reported Threatened at EC Session

92BA0659A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 92 p 1

[Article by Jadranka Klisovic: "At Negotiations in Zitnic: General Mladic Arrests Croatian Negotiators"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Mladic gave the Croatian Armed Forces 24 hours to leave the Nos Kalik region, saying that if they did not, he would use all available weaponry to attack civilian and economic structures in Sibenik and Zadar.

In the history of warfare, there is no record of such an ugly incident, Zoran Bujas of the IPS [expansion not given] 113th Sibenik Brigade told journalists, explaining how it happened that the Croatian Armed Forces negotiating team, consisting of Ante Ljubicic, Zoran Bujas, and Josip Odak, the president of the Assembly of Drnis opstina, was taken prisoner.

Representatives of the Croatian armed forces accepted an invitation by Colonel Orlovic, who is otherwise the liaison officer, and Mr. Dieter Woltman, who is the head of the observer mission, to take part in negotiations in the village of Zitnic, in Drnis opstina, in the presence of representatives of the European mission. Upon arrival, they were driven to the home of the Beader family, where talks and negotiations are also under way between the Croatian side and the Knin corps.

"At the Beader house, we found General Mladic, who immediately upon our arrival asked in a nervous tone of voice, 'What are you looking for here?' adding that 'there is no place here for representatives of the Croatian armed forces.' After intervention by the liaison officer," said Zoran Bujas, who explained to Mladic that this had to do with his invitation, which was faxed to the Croatian armed forces bearing his signature and dispatched from the command headquarters of the Knin corps, the meeting began. "I must emphasize," Bujas said, "that the talks were conducted amidst the strong presence of JNA [Yugoslav Peoples' Army] security forces."

Gen. Ratko Mladic began the discussion by directing several reprimands at the EC mission, and General Mladic's further comments were characterized by a blunt tone. The only thing that Mladic wanted to know from the representatives of the Croatian armed forces was when the Croatian armed forces would withdraw from the Nos Kalik region, and when it would return prisoners of war, declaring that these people are civilians, which is not true.

Then Ante Ljubicic spoke up, explaining that the JNA had not respected the agreement concluded at the end of last year between General Vukovic and Colonel Bacic concerning the demilitarization of the entire Miljevacka Ploca zone, including the village of Nos Kalik. Immediately after that agreement, the Croatian side withdrew forces equivalent to a battalion from that region.

Murdered Old People

However, the JNA and Chetnik forces did not do this, instead intensifying their activities. The Croatian armed forces suffered casualties in these attacks. Moreover, all the villages in the Miljevac area were razed and plundered during that period, and there is also information available concerning murders among the civilian population in the Miljevac area, mostly old people.

All of these JNA activities forced us, Bujas said, to opt for the campaign in which the village of Nos Kalik was captured. During the Nos Kalik campaign, the Croatian armed forces took 21 enemy soldiers captive. These people are not civilians, but rather members of the JNA and of Chetnik and other formations, which was confirmed by representatives of the EC mission. The Croatian side then proposed that this entire area be demilitarized and that there be an exchange of prisoners.

Mr. Woltman also addressed those present at the Beader house, informing them that several days earlier he had spoken with people (civilians, residents??) in the Skradinski Buk area, not far from Nos Kalik, who expressed a desire to move away from Nos Kalik. All of them decided to leave for Sibenik, and not one of them wanted to go anywhere else. These were residents of Serbian nationality who were met by relatives from Sibenik upon their arrival at Skradinski Buk.

The residents of Nos Kalik told members of the EC mission that in effect they were held captive in the village the entire time, and that they were prohibited from leaving. They also confirmed that all the prisoners of war were members of the armed forces, not civilians. Upon the arrival of the Croatian armed forces in the village, the residents confirmed, not a single civilian was arrested or held hostage. The European observers heard the same testimony from the wife and children of one of the prisoners of war, who leisurely sought refuge in Sibenik. Witnesses also mentioned the crimes committed by Sergeant Zivkovic and Private Djuricic.

Mladic Insulted Woltman

After this report by Mr. Woltman, General Mladic stood up, screaming a stream of insults at Mr. Woltman while looking him straight in the eye. At the same time, Mladic called his security detail, "and the guard responded to the order, along with the 'arrest' command. Three armed sentries came running and cocked their pistols. The members of the security detail stood behind our backs ready to fire their automatic pistols.

"General Mladic then told the Croatian negotiators that they were under arrest as hostages and that they had five minutes to make a statement," Bujas said. "The representatives of the European mission then intervened, telling everyone present that they would go with us if Mladic's people tried to take us to another location, which did not happen, however. This was followed by renewed abusive language and insults, and after 20 minutes Mladic repeated his ultimatum concerning our withdrawal from Nos Kalik. We were then taken out of the room, and the talks were continued by the observers and the Knin military faction."

According to the report by the members of the European mission, Mladic only repeated his ultimatums and threatened to attack Sibenik, its surrounding districts, and Zadar if the Croatian armed forces were not out of Nos Kalik within 24 hours. "We will open fire with all available military resources, and the target will be all of the most vital economic installations, as well as the civilian population," Mladic threatened. The Croatian side stuck to its earlier position concerning the demilitarization of the Miljevacka Ploca and an exchange of prisoners.

The deadline set by Mladic for the Croatian armed forces is 1430 on Sunday. The opstina information centers have issued an appeal for extreme caution to Sibenik residents because of the latest threat. Since it involves a

threat by crazy General Mladic, there is the possibility that he will in fact carry out his threat, so that Sibenik residents have hurried to their homes.

Otherwise, there were no major provocations by enemy forces on the Sibenik battlefield last night and this morning. According to still-unofficial information, enemy forces and Chetniks butchered four old people in the Miljevac area.

Montenegro

Inter-Republican Teams To Assume Federal Duties

LD2203232992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, March 22 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Milo Djukanovic stated on Sunday that until the new political and legal system of Yugoslavia was constituted, main part of the federal competences would be taken over by inter-republican teams. Djukanovic told a meeting in Titograd that the best of former Yugoslavia would remain and that the common state of Serbs and Montenegrins would be fraternal and equal, economically prosperous and Europe-oriented.

Following secession of four Yugoslav repubulics, Serbia and Montenegro have opted to continue life together in Yugoslav federation. As regards the definitive solution to the Yugoslav crisis, Djukanovic said the presence of the U.N. peace troops created the pre-conditions for a democratic solution to the key problems—the position of the Serbian people in Croatia and restructuring of the central republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He assessed that sensible and realistic overtones of the latest E.C.-brokered accords in Bosnia-Hercegovina were encouraging.

We will accept as optimal any solution in Bosnia-Hercegovina derived from an inter-ethnic consensus of all three constituent nations, he said and noted that it was obvious that everyone in Bosnia-Hercegovina must give up something so that all may gain in the end.

Leaders of Moslems, Serbs and Croats have reached accord on Tuesday for Bosnia-Hercegovina to be a state with three nations units based on the ethnic principle, and respecting also the geographic, economic and other criteria.

Serbia

Republic Asks EC To Lift Economic Sanctions

LD2003201492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has requested of the European Community to lift the unilateral sanctions it imposed against it, as the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes today and underscores that Serbia is not blackmailing anyone. The abolition of the sanctions is above all a question of Serbia's equal position in the future work of the Conference on Yugoslavia, as is specified in the document Serbia sent conference chairman Lord Carrington on Wednesday. The Conference on Yugoslavia is to resume [in] early April.

Serbia is not an exception nor can it be accused of taking discriminatory steps against other Yugoslav republics because it has been trying to neutralize the consequences of payment without real coverage suffered by its economy, the document sets out. The Conference on Yugoslavia obviously does not fully understand the gravity of monetary problems and methods of payment which arose after the Yugoslav state disintegrated, the document sets out. It goes on to explain that the chief problem lies in the fact that the republican banks have been issuing money independently of the Central Bank of Yugoslavia. It also warns that commercial banks have been issuing money to pay firms in other republics: "Everyone is boosting inflation in everyone else's yard, and this in turn boosts inflation in all of Yugoslavia."

Serbia has not imposed an economic blockade on any other Yugoslav republic, as the document underscores. Restrictions on exports of agricultural products to the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been motivated by the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina has trebled its demand for these articles in the past few years for re-export reasons, the document sets out. Bosnia-Hercegovina has sold food it imported from Serbia to the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

The document Serbia sent Lord Carrington says that Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia believe Serbia is obliged to sell them its agricultural products although it could earn more by selling them abroad. Simultaneously, both republics have for two years now failed to contribute to the Yugoslav federal budget which subsidizes agriculture.

Milosevic Interviewed on Royal Family, Seselj

LD2203150892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1222 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic has stated that members of the Royal House of Karadjordjevic, the Serbian dynasty which ruled Yugoslavia until World War Two, "can return to Serbia as citizens" of this Yugoslav Republic. Answering the questions addressed to him by Serbian citizens, Milosevic says in the latest issue of the Belgrade weekly ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA that members of the Karadjordjevic family "should not allow themselves to be manipulated by the Serbian opposition for the alleged goal of restoring a monarchy". Serbia is a Republic and I believe that it will remain so, he adds. Some opposition leaders urge a return of the Karadjordjevic family and restoration of a monarchy in Serbia.

The family was banned from returning home by Yugoslavia's communist authorities after World War Two.

Asked which opposition leader he holds in the highest esteem, the president of Serbia says: "Vojislav Seselj". Seselj is president of the right-wing Serbian Radical Party in the republican parliament. "I respect Seselj because he is consistent in his political beliefs and because I believe that both he and his party are not financially dependent on foreign sources", says Milosevic. Asked whether it bothers him that he is a socialist and his wife a communist, the Serbian president replies in the affirmative.

Milosevic also says he believes that the property of high-ranking officials should be disclosed to the public "so that they cannot use their position to enlarge their property" from sources other than their income. Asked why he does not like to give interviews and why he rarely appears in public, he replies that, in his opinion, "excessive appearance in public by any political figure is obtrusive and not in good taste" and that his appearances in public correspond to the office he holds.

Views FRG Ties, Nuclear, Economic Policy

LD2203145892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1154 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic believes that relations between this Yugoslav Republic and Germany can be normalized provided "Germany has good intentions and does not interfere in our internal affairs," as he said. Answering questions addressed to him by citizens, as published in the latest issue of the Belgrade weekly ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, Milosevic assessed that a "vast majority of countries all over the world have no reason to bear any ill will towards Serbia."

Germany, which was especially engaged on the side of the breakaway republics of Slovenia and Croatia in the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis, had pressured the European Community (E.C.) into recognizing the independence of these two republics before a global and final solution is reached for the Yugoslav problem. Late last year Germany introduced special sanctions against Serbia in the area of traffic and all forms of communication.

Asked if the labelling of Serbia as a "bolshevik" state is the reason why the world is still suspicious about the democratic transformation of this republic, Milosevic underlined that Serbia "was never Bolshevik, and least of all now...when it is organized as a mutli-party parliamentary republic, and such an organization has nothing to do with Bolshevism," the Serbian president underscored. Commenting the intention of the southern Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to secede from Yugoslavia, Milosevic said: "If the citizens of Macedonia decide to live independently, Serbia will respect that."

Asked to comment the overcoming of the economic crisis in Serbia, Milosevic mentioned as the most important conditions for this the maintenance of peace and the cutting down on the huge costs which this republic had last year for supporting refugees and helping Serbs outside Serbia.

Over 150,000 Serbs from war-torn Croatia fled to Serbia last year. Armed conflicts between the Croatian paramilitary and the Serb people in Croatia broke out after the unilateral secession of this republic from Yugoslavia and after an attempt by the Croatian authorities to reduce Serbs to the status of a national minority. Serbs in Croatia last year held a plebiscite and opted to remain in Yugoslavia.

Milosevic underscored that the lifting of the economic sanctions imposed by the E.C. is also an important precondition for the economic progress of Serbia. The E.C. last November imposed economic sanctions against Yugoslavia because of the war in Croatia. Early this year, at the insistance of Germany in particular, the sanctions were lifted against all the Yugoslav Republics except Serbia.

Asked if he saw the future of Serbia's economy in the social or the private sector, Milosevic urged equal treatment for all forms of ownership, adding that priority will be given to that sector which brings better results to the development on society on the whole. Asked if the Yugoslav national currency the dinar could be based on a gold standard since Serbia manufactures gold, Milosevic said that this would not be the case. He added that the Yugoslav currency can be strong only through "growing production and productivity with settled market relations and a positive balance of payments." The Serbian president also said that this republic would not build any nuclear power plants and risk an ecological disaster, since it has vast hydropotential and coal reserves.

Defense Minister Advocates Political Solution

AU2103201092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] At a discussion forum in Gornji Milanovac, Serbian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic stressed that all conditions have been created for a political settlement to the Yugoslav crisis. Zivko Perisic reports:

[Begin recording] [Perisic] The arrival of the UN peacekeeping forces in the threatened regions means that a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis can be pursued and this is now happening, Negovanovic said, and then stressed:

[Negovanovic] Serbia remains firmly and unfailingly devoted to peace and the principled political resolution of all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, with maximum respect for the legitimate rights of all Yugoslav constitutive peoples and their republics. In this sense, Serbia is

vitally interested in the stabilization of peace, the arrival and deployment of the blue helmets as soon as possible, and the effective settlement of the most immediate aspects of the Yugoslav crisis.

We are deeply convinced that the decision of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro on the constitutional (?establishment) of Yugoslavia ensures the continuity and international legal status of Yugoslavia. This certainly represents a concrete contribution toward strengthening stability and peace in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the region.

[Perisic] At the end of the forum, Negovanovic replied to numerous questions from citizens and the parents of reservists who have been mobilized. [end recording]

Official on Economic Ties With Slovenia, Croatia

LD2203183392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1548 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—Director of the Statistics Bureau of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Milovan Zivkovic cautioned today about the difficulties and even breach of relations between Serbia and the other Yugoslav republics except for Montenegro. Zivkovic told TANJUG that economists in Serbia were "supporting the intentions of businessmen of the Yugoslav secessionist Republic of Slovenia for economic relations between the two republics to be re-established." The relations were broken when Slovenia seceded from Yugoslavia. "Slovenian businessmen's intentions are understandable knowing that Serbia has been Slovenia's best market in the world," said Zivkovic. He added that the "prevalent stand in Serbia is that economic relations should be established with Slovenia on the parity basis." He held that Slovenia's offer for compensation in the different currencies should be accepted. Last year, Slovenia inaugurated its own national currency, the tolar, replacing the Yugoslav dinar.

The Government of Serbia has been compelled to restrict trade in strategic foodstuffs with Bosnia-Hercegovina because of the obvious re-export of these articles via Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Yugoslav secessionist republics of Croatia and Slovenia, said Zivkovic. Representatives of the two governments agreed that these strategic items should be exchanged up to the level of Bosnia- Hercegovina's balanced-off demand, and their agreement would be valid only so long as Bosnia-Hercegovina remains within the single Yugoslav monetary system, Zivkovic said.

Zivkovic pointed to the need to change an economic cooperation agreement between the governments of Serbia and of the Yugoslav secessionist Republic of Macedonia, after the latter announced its soon exit from the mnoetary system and its introducing its own monetary unit. Macedonia is one of the four Yugoslav republics which have requested recognition from the European Community (E.C.). The E.C., which recognized Croatia and Slovenia on January 15, has not yet recognized Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Economic relations between Serbia and Croatia are at their lowest level ever, said Zivkovic. Their development, said he, would depend on the resolution of Yugoslavia's crisis and on Croatia's paying damage for having shut off the Yugoslav oil pipeline and switched off a long-distance power transmission that had cut electricity exports from Serbia to Austria and Italy. "All misunderstandings and wars in the territory of what has been Yugoslavia would cease to exist the moment the economy takes the place of politics and when politicians stop to engage in the economy," said Zivkovic in conclusion.

New Import-Export Hard Currency Rules Imposed

LD2103200292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0658 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 20 (TANJUG)—When importing consumer goods, firms from Serbia will in future be obliged to announce an export deal whose value must exceed that of imports by 1.5 times. Under new regulations governing the transactions of Serbian firms abroad, importers will be obliged to sell to the National Bank of Serbia foreign currency to the amount of 50 per cent of the deal's value, Serbian Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Srdjan Savich told reporters. This will not apply to the purchase of medicaments, spare parts, primary materials and reproduction components which are not produced in Serbia. Firms which import automobiles must sell automobile parts or metal manufacturing industry products to the country from which they are importing to the value of their import deals.

The Government of Serbia has prepared a draft customs law which provides for the introduction of a single customs procedure similar to that applied in the European Community, which will significantly simplify the current practice in this regard, said Savich and added that the draft also incorporated the latest GATT solutions for international trade.

Government Proposes 'Major Changes' in Tax Laws

LD2103212692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2328 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia at its session today drew up proposals for major changes in the legislation on taxes, accepting requests from economic organizations and the earliest practical experience. The essence of proposed changes pertains to encouraged investments and influx of foreign capital.

An announcement from the session said that the amendments to the law on taxes on the profit of the corporations were introducing additional incentives for the

newly-founded enterprises and co-operatives in the less-developed sections of the country (100 per cent for the first three years of operation) as well as in the free zones (100 per cent for the first five years of operation). The tax base is foreseen to be cut to 30 per cent of the taxable profit for those tax payers who re-invest their profit into a production activity, or twice more than the currently valid legal provision.

Foreign persons who have performed the re-investing of the dividends into the legally-foreseen production activities shall be exempted from the taxes on dividends in case they do not withdraw these resources for three years at least. The lower limit for the utilization of the right to tax facilities for foreign investors shall be cut from the current 20 per cent share to the 10 per cent share of foreign capital in the enterprise's overall fixed capital. With this provision, the government wants additionally to encourage the owners of foreign capital to invest into a variety of domestic-production projects.

Particular facilities, as is said further on in the announcement, are foreseen for those taxpayers who employ, for unspecified period of time, either the persons who are thus employed for the first time or the disabled. The taxes assessed for these taxpayers under these particular facilities will be reduced to an equivalent of 20 per cent of the overall salaries paid out to those employed as explained above.

Vojvodina Croats Call for EC Protection

LD2303071492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent Ivo Kujundzic]

[Excerpt] Emigration of Croats from Vojvodina under duress must be halted, and for this reason the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats will ask for EC observers to come here. They must provide assistance in protecting human and collective rights of the members of the Croatian nationality in that province of the former Yugoslavia. This was the main conclusion of a gathering of Vojvodina Croats, which ended today in Balaton, Hungary. Today's plenary session asked for a safe return for all those who failed to heed callup papers for the forced mobilization in the so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and also demanded that they were given back their jobs. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Republic President Warns of Civil War

AU2003184092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] If Europe does not help Kosovo liberate itself from Serbian occupation, there will be a civil war which would make the war between Serbs and Croats look like a trifling matter. This was said at a news conference in Italy the day before yesterday by Bujar Bukoshi, president of the so-called Republic of Kosovo Government. A report in today's BUJKU newspaper also cites Bukoshi's statement that the Kosovo Government has asked the EC to recognize an independent Kosovo.

I know that we should be patient, Bukoshi said, but I do not know if it is to our advantage to persuade the people to remain calm. Albanians think that the unification process between Kosovo and Albania should be carried out within the framework of European integration, Bukoshi said.

At a news conference today in Pristina, Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, which is Bukoshi's party, repeated the demand for blue helmets in Kosovo. Rugova invited, as he said, General Adzic and the other generals to go to Pristina and reach an agreement with him on the withdrawal of Yugoslav People's Army units from Kosovo.

Rugova announced that his party would like the opposition to win the upcoming elections in Albania. In reply to a question, Rugova said that there is still no information on the report that some Arab countries will recognize the Republic of Kosovo, which has only been recognized by Albania so far.

Urges Secession From Serbia, SFRY

LD2003175892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 20 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Pristina, March 20 (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the strongest ethnic Albanian party in the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet), today again urged the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia. At a news conference in Pristina, the capital of Kosmet, Rugova requested "the withdrawal of the Serbian Government" from this province and invited acting Federal Defense Minister Blagoje Adzic and other representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to come to Pristina and discuss the "JNA's withdrawal" from Kosovo and Metohija.

Albanians are a national minority in Yugoslavia, and, under international documents, national minorities do not have the right to self-determination and secession from the territory of the state they live in. Ethnic Albanians parties, however, have publicly urged Kosmet's secession and its annexation to neighboring Albania. Albanian authorities have on a number of occasions publicly supported the secessionist ambitions of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] According to statistics, 1,600,000 out of Serbia's population of nearly ten million are ethnic Albanians.

Kosovo Endorses Assembly Election Proposal

LD2103153492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Pristina, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The coordinating committee of Kosovo's Albanian parties endorsed the proposal on holding multiparty elections for "the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo and the municipal assembly," the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo's [Demokratski savez Kosova] press center announced. This initiative originated with the Democratic Alliance, chaired by Ibrahim Rugova, who is also chairman of the coordinating committee of all Albanian parties. The coordinating committee proposed the formation of an interparty commission which will work on realizing that task. The illegal assembly and government of the so-called Republic of Kosovo will make the final decision and provide all legal, organizational, and technical conditions for the elections. The opinion of international institutions will also be sought. Pristina's Albanian-language press writes extensively on this latest action, claiming that "the Serbian authorities are starting repression to prevent it."

Serbian Committee Urges Albanians To Cooperate

LD2203183992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 22 Mar 92

[Text] Pristina, March 22 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Serbian Parliament Committee for the Province of Kosovo Momcilo Trajkovic believes that "if certain international factors and political factors in Albania would not encourage secessionism, then many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo would turn to their state of Serbia and build a more democratic and richer life with the Serbs." In today's talks with U.S. Congressman William Zeliff, Trajkovic pointed out that "the crux of the problem in Kosovo is not the violation of human rights and the national rights of ethnic Albanians, but their conflict with the state whose territories they are trying to secede and annex to Albania."

Kosovo is part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the political parties allying ethnic Albanians, the majority population in Kosovo, urge for the secession of the province from Yugoslavia and Serbia. Trajkovic underscored that "many problems will disappear once the Albanian national minority recognizes Serbia's laws and takes part in the setting up of multi-party authority in Kosovo."

Congressman Zeliff who had earlier met with the representatives of political parties of ethnic Albanians, said that the problems in Kosovo can be resolved together and by respecting the interests of both conflicting sides. A group of U.S. citizens along with Congressman Zeliff left Pristina today for Tirana where they will take part in the overseeing of elections.

Alleged Serbian Attacks on Kosovo Leaders Planned

92BA0636B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 92 p 7

[Article by Nadira Avdic Vllasi, Pristina: "Intimidation Will Not Succeed"]

[Text] According to unconfirmed reports, the Serbian police and Chetnik groups are these days preparing physical attacks on Albanian leaders and representatives of Albanian political parties, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said on Friday in a press conference of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK]. "We do not have armed escorts, and under the conditions of an occupation we are behaving and working as politicians," he added, and sent a message to the Serbian volunteers who are drilling under command of the director of "Grand" and are going off for training to Slavonia, that "if they open fire on Kosovo, none will have an easy time." He also insisted that UN forces be deployed in Kosovo and that Albanian representatives take direct part in the Peace Conference in The Hague. He also emphasized that goldsmiths are being robbed more frequently in many Kosovo cities, and that the Montenegrins who reached Kosovo from Albania through Montenegro are forcibly breaking into Albanian homes.

A War in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Would Come Closer to Kosovo

Dr. Rugova welcomed the referendum in B-H and called for a political and peaceful solution of the problem, noting that war in Bosnia would come closer to Kosovo by way of Sandzak. "We condemn the expulsion of some 100 Croatian families from Janjevo under pressure, and it is clear that now the Croats are the target because of the war in Croatia," was Dr. Rugova's comment on the large-scale departure of Kosovo Croats from Janjevo.

"Homeland" Concerning the Current Situation

"Homeland," the nonparty association of Serbs, has presented its views concerning the current situation. They say that everything that is happening in B-H "is actually a continuation of the plots against the Serbs and Serbia."

They support the position of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and the commitment of the Serbian people "not to accept the bullying behavior of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], and the president of the B-H presidency, which in collusion with other enemies are continuing their policy of destruction of Yugoslavia and Serbia" and at the same time offer aid to "the brothers in B-H." In a separate action, the leadership of "Homeland" reacted sharply to the call of Albanian political parties in Kosovo that the Army leave these parts.

Milosevic Candidate for King?!

Dozens of meetings of the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] are being held these days to attack the Serbian opposition, that is, the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] and the Democratic Party.

An interesting opinion was expressed in the Pristina Opstina Committee of the SPS to the effect that if people really want a monarchy and king, "the candidate for that position of the Serbian Socialist Party might be Slobodan Milosevic, the current president." This nomination is backed up with his "achievements" in "saving the Serbian people" and "unifying it."

Kosta Bulatovic spoke about those "achievements" of the SPS and Milosevic at length in the Assembly of the SPO for Kosovo, stressing that "such people have no moral right to lead Serbia" and that the SPS has retained much that is Bolshevik and communist. Radmilo Roncevic, vice president of that party, said that the SPO wants "peacefully and in an intelligent way to create an expanded Serbia, which requires help from the SPC [Serbian Orthodox Church] and the intelligentsia."

A Promised "Settlement of Accounts"

In a speech at a meeting of the SPS in Prizren, Radmilo Bogdanovic, member of the SPS Main Committee and a deputy in the Serbian Parliament, explained in detail how he sees Cyrus Vance' plan. As is well known, at the request of the Serbian opposition following the events on 9 March of last year, Bogdanovic had to submit his resignation as minister of internal affairs in the government at that time, so his fierce opposition to celebrating that event this year is understandable. Being against the rally is now the "patriotic obligation of all citizens," while at one time participation in rallies was seen in a different light! The times are changing, although Bogdanovic even now is issuing threats, just as he did while he was Serbia's top policeman. In the old ministerial style he explained what would happen to the Albanian leaders: "There will soon be a settlement of accounts with those who are forcing the Skipetar ethnic minority to deny respect to the state of Serbia and its Constitution"! Does that statement have to do with "settlement of accounts" in the manner of the Serbian police and Chetnik groups, to which Dr. Ibrahim Rugova referred in his press conference, or to those "tried and true" methods from Bogdanovic's days as minister, when (we know what the consequences were for the "respect" of Serbia) people were arrested in large numbers and put in "isolation" and Stalinist political trials were organized? This might also be a new trick of intimidation, so that after two years of silence it does not occur to Albanian leaders to organize some mass protest, mindful that there are an abundance of reasons and occasions for that.